

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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The League's Business

Annual Meetings of League Members and Council

The annual meeting of the members of the National Municipal League took place at Nashville, Tennessee, November 12, in connection with the National Conference on Government. In the absence of President Charles Edison, George H. Gallup, League vice president, presided. The nominating committee's report was presented by Richard S. Childs, chairman, and the meeting elected the following:

President: Charles Edison, Orange, New Jersey
Vice presidents: George H. Gallup, Princeton, New Jersey
James W. Clise, Seattle, Washington
Honorary vice presidents (in addition to those now in office):
James L. Beebe, Los Angeles, California
Frederick L. Bird, New York, N. Y.
Arnold Frye, New York, N. Y.
John S. Linen, New York, N. Y.

To fill vacancies in the Council for a one-year term:

Rev. Edward Dowling, S. J., St. Louis, Missouri
Mark S. Matthews, Greenwich, Connecticut
William J. Pape, Waterbury, Connecticut
J. W. Esterline, Indianapolis, Indiana

And the following Council members for three-year terms:

William Anderson, Minneapolis, Minnesota
R. E. Blake, St. Louis, Missouri
William Collins, Yonkers, New York
B. H. Faulkner, Montclair, New Jersey
Clarence Francis, Bronxville, New York
Lloyd E. Graybiel, San Francisco, California
Harrison S. Hires, Berwyn, Pennsylvania
Robert W. Johnson, New Brunswick, New Jersey
Harry W. Schacter, Louisville, Kentucky

The Council met in dinner session the same evening. Present were: President Edison, Richard S. Childs, chairman of the Council, who presided, George H. Gallup, J. W. Clise, Carl H. Pforzheimer, R. E. Blake, William Collins, Karl Detzer, Rev. Edward Dowling, S. J., Herbert Emmerich, Arnold Frye, Lloyd Hale, John S. Linen, Joseph D. McGoldrick, Stratford Lee Morton and Wilson W. Wyatt.

It appointed for one-year terms the following officers:

Chairman of the Council: Richard S. Childs
Secretary: Alfred Willoughby
Treasurer: Carl H. Pforzheimer
Executive Committee of six members (in addition to the chairman of the Council, whom the constitution names as a member): Frederick L. Bird, William Collins, Charles Edison, George H. Gallup, Joseph D. McGoldrick, and Carl H. Pforzheimer.

The Council session also discussed the secretary's report of the year's work and adopted an enlarged budget for 1948, subject to success in finding the total of \$110,000 of income now being sought under the leadership of the League's finance committee chairman, William Collins of Yonkers. The fund of \$12,000 granted for the purpose last January by the Taylor Trust of Philadelphia has provided the funds for expert organization of the finance effort now under way. Subscriptions began with new contributions aggregating \$8,000, which President Edison collected at a small luncheon in New York from League officers and certain local members.

The detail of the drive, involving a breakdown of the total to regional quotas,

(Continued on Page 606)

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

The Nashville Conference

ALTHOUGH the National Conference on Government last month was held in Nashville, the farthest south in the League's 53 years and somewhat off the beaten track of through traffic, attendance was exceptional, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Civic leaders, educators and other shapers of the patterns of human and governmental progress came from all four extreme edges of the country and from many places between.

A former F.B.I. man who, in typically thorough fashion, is mastering his new responsibilities as manager of the department of government of a chamber of commerce in Florida, wrote after the conference commenting on the "large number of national authorities whose talents were made available in the panel sessions," and said, "I came away with a much keener insight into the problems of local government."

Similar comments from first-time and old-time conference goers were numerous.

All the League's officers and more than half the members of the Council were present. There were 138 speakers and participants on the program of the three-day session.

* * *

Speakers at the annual banquet were Charles Edison and George H. Gallup, League president and vice president, respectively, with Wilson W. Wyatt, member of the Council

and former mayor of Louisville, presiding.

Three sessions gave special attention to the problem of the modernization of state constitutions which is at issue in fifteen states and the Territory of Hawaii, the largest number in the country's history.

The conference was opened by Governor J. N. McCord of Tennessee, with E. W. Palmer, vice president of the Tennessee Taxpayers Association, presiding at the luncheon November 12. Charles Edison, League president, responded and introduced Governor Alfred E. Driscoll of New Jersey who discussed his state's recently adopted constitution.

In the afternoon the following spoke on revision problems: R. E. Blake, chairman, 1943-44 Missouri Constitutional Convention; Lee S. Greene, University of Tennessee; John H. Tucker, Jr., Louisiana State Law Institute; Lloyd M. Short, chairman, Constitutional Commission of Minnesota; Norris J. Burke, general counsel, California Legislative Constitutional Revision Commission; Arthur W. Bromage, University of Michigan; George H. McLane, Hawaii Statehood Commission. Spencer Miller, Jr., state highway commissioner and delegate to the 1947 New Jersey Constitutional Convention, presided.

"The People's Part in Constitutional Revision" was discussed in a group session the morning of November 13 by: Spencer Miller, Jr.; Mrs. Edwards S. Parsons, Jr., president,

Tennessee League of Women Voters; J. E. Reeves, secretary, Campaign for a Kentucky Constitutional Convention. Stratford Lee Morton, delegate to the recent Missouri Constitutional Convention, presided.

"Strategy for Constitutional Conventions" was discussed at a group session the morning of November 14 by: Wilbert L. Hindman, University of Southern California; Kimbrough Owen, Louisiana State Law Institute; William L. Bradshaw, University of Missouri; Bennett M. Rich, Rutgers University. W. Brooke Graves, chief, State Governments Section, Library of Congress, presided.

* * *

Congressman Estes Kefauver of Tennessee spoke on "Cities and Congress" and George B. Galloway, secretary of the Subcommittee on Home Rule and Reorganization, House District Committee, discussed the recent proposal of the council-manager plan for Washington, D. C., at the luncheon November 13. Karl Detzer, *Reader's Digest*, presided.

Harry W. Schacter, president of the Committee for Kentucky, spoke on the program of his organization at the closing luncheon November 14. Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League's Council, presided.

* * *

J. C. Bradford, vice chairman of the Nashville Electric Service; presided at a meeting the evening of November 12 at which Gordon R. Clapp, chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority, spoke and a panel discussion on the impact of the growth of a region on local government was discussed, under the lead-

ership of Roscoe C. Martin of the University of Alabama, by the following panel: Maynard Layman, Decatur (Alabama) *Daily*; States Rights G. Finley, Chattanooga Electric Power Board; Miss Ruth Kolting, Washington County (Virginia) Development Association; Marjorie Beal, North Carolina Library Commission; Harold A. Browning, commissioner, Kentucky Department of Conservation.

A. H. Stone, chairman of the Mississippi State Tax Commission, told at a dinner the same evening of the methods used to gain public acceptance of the sales tax. Walter Stokes, Jr., chairman of the Advisory Committee, Tennessee Taxpayers Association, presided.

* * *

A capacity audience attended the session the afternoon of November 13 on "Financial Security for Cities" at which John S. Linen, vice president of the Chase National Bank, made the introductory remarks, Arnold Frye, chairman of the League's Committee on a Model Fiscal Program, presided, and the following spoke: Wilson W. Wyatt, former mayor of Louisville; Joseph D. McGoldrick, former comptroller of New York City; William Stanley Parker, consultant on public works programming; Thomas H. Reed, municipal consultant.

* * *

The following group sessions were held the mornings of November 13 and 14:

"How to Conduct a Council-Manager Campaign," Forest Frank, director of the Cincinnati City Charter Committee, presiding. Speakers:

L. E. Marlowe, president, and Ed P. Phillips, campaign chairman, Richmond Citizens Association; Richard Martin, director, Connecticut State Water Commission; Lewis B. Sims, Montgomery County Civic Federation; Cleland Austin, Montclair Development Board.

"Home Rule," Joseph M. Ray, University of Maryland, presiding. Speakers: Hugh P. Wasson, mayor of Chattanooga; Hallie Farmer, Alabama State College; Harvey Walker, Ohio State University; Elwyn A. Mauck, University of Maryland.

"City-County Consolidation," Roscoe C. Martin, University of Alabama, presiding. Speakers: Cecil Morgan, Charter Commission, Baton Rouge; John F. Willmott, Dade County (Florida) Research Foundation; Marshall Stalley, Allegheny Conference on Community Development; Weldon Cooper, University of Virginia.

"Citizen Organization Clinic," Roy V. Peel, Institute of Politics, Indiana University, presiding. Speakers: J. W. Clise, vice president, National Municipal League; E. R. Lingerfelt, McMinn County Good Government League; Marshall Stalley, Allegheny Conference on Com-

munity Development; James W. Armstrong, Community Service Department, Committee for Kentucky.

"Where Cities Get the Money," Thomas H. Reed, municipal consultant, presiding. Speakers: Victor D. Brannon, St. Louis Governmental Research Institute; Mabel L. Walker, Tax Institute; John F. Sly, Princeton Surveys; Kenneth P. Vinsel, Louisville Area Development Association.

The Proportional Representation League met the morning of November 14 with Richard S. Childs, chairman of the League's Council, presiding. Speakers were: Forest Frank, Cincinnati City Charter Committee; Frederick B. Willis, speaker, Massachusetts House of Representatives; George H. Hallett, Jr., Proportional Representation League.

* * *

Other meetings held in conjunction with the conference were those of the National Association of Civic Secretaries, the Tennessee Chapter of the American Society for Public Administration, Tennessee Municipal League, Tennessee Municipal Finance Officers Association and the Southern Institute of Local Government of the University of Tennessee.

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

(Continued from Page 602)

assigns a relatively modest task to numerous members and helpers who have been enlisted. A number of districts were organized at Nashville under the leadership of members there present. Literature of a more vivid type than has been the League's custom is available and a full-time finance secretary, William H. Russell, handles the detail at the League's office.

John Gilbert Winant

A week before he planned to leave for the League's National Conference on Government in Nashville, John G. Winant, president of the League from 1940 to 1946 and wartime ambassador to Great Britain, died on November 3 at his home in Concord, New Hampshire. Prior to his presidency, he had served for some years as a member of the League's Council.

As politician, administrator, diplomat and citizen leader, Mr. Winant had dedicated himself to unselfish public service during nearly all his adult life.

When he became governor of New Hampshire, he consulted friends and associates in the League with the thought that it was illogical for him, without experience as a public administrator, to assume the top administrative responsibilities of a state simply because his ideas on public policy had appealed to the people. Following the advice of these friends, he appointed a public administrator of broad experience to an important post in the state government, designedly to relieve himself of these responsibilities.

As three-time governor of New Hampshire, Mr. Winant sponsored a program of social legislation which resulted in his being called by President Franklin D. Roosevelt to head the Social Security Board in 1935. He prepared for this task by spending several months in Europe studying the methods of other countries. He resigned this post in order to answer from the public platform what he considered unfair criticism of the federal government's policies during a political campaign.

He was assistant director in 1935 and director in 1937 to 1939 of the International Labor Office in Geneva.

Upon his election as president of the League at its Springfield, Massachusetts, meeting, Mr. Winant prepared to devote a large share of his time to this office, but very shortly afterward he was appointed ambassador to the Court of St. James's. After the war he resigned in 1946 and was appointed permanent U. S. representative on the United Nations' Economic and Social Council. He resigned less than a year later to "pick up life again as a private citizen in my own country."

In the ensuing months, Mr. Winant devoted himself to writing and to attempting to regain his health which had suffered from many years of neglect while he devoted himself to the various causes in which he was interested. His book, *Letter from Grosvenor Square*, was published by Houghton Mifflin and Company shortly after his death. He was also at work on other manuscripts. When he opened the *New York Herald Tribune* Forum on October 20 he argued that the current world situation demanded that democracy must be wholesome and strong. "Are you doing as much today for peace as you did for this country and civilization in the days of war?" he asked. "I'm not."

To friends he deplored the fact that the state of his health thwarted his desire to do what he felt should be expected from him toward helping to establish peace.

Tribute to Dr. Hatton

Mrs. Hatton and other friends have assembled a memorial brochure dealing with the life and contributions to civics of the late "A. R." Hatton, who was for so many years a vivid figure in the National Municipal League's activities. It is obtainable from Mrs. A. R. Hatton, 4147 Byron Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

The Atom in Local Democracy

League's President warns that people must guard against use of new power as excuse for greater centralization.

By CHARLES EDISON*

MILLIONS of us must decide now to make atomic energy our personal business—as personal as a marriage license, the building of a house, the choice of a job.

If we do not take this responsibility and opportunity, the penalty will be severe indeed. We shall lose our free citizenship by default. We may even forfeit our lives and our children's lives.

Let's take a look at the problem. We have a discovery of such magnitude that not even our leading scientists can foresee the full range of possibilities. It has been said that within ten years some of our cities may be heated by atomic power, eliminating the winter pall of smoke and soot. Industries, no longer dependent upon a supply of coal or water, may be located close to raw materials in any part of the country—whether the site be plain or desert.

Cheap and abundant heat may ultimately be piped out from central plants to suburban and even rural areas, keeping snow and ice from the roads and driving frost from the fields. The cost of plastic building materials may be brought down sufficiently to put good homes within

reach of many families that cannot pay current prices.

Radioactive isotopes will be used to increase vastly our knowledge of disease and to bring new technological progress.

These things are only being talked of, or just beginning to happen. Probably few, if any, have yet been affected by the first peacetime applications of atomic energy. But when this scientific revolution comes it will very likely come with a rush.

The question we have got to face is this: "Will we be prepared to control atomic energy for the enrichment and the betterment of our lives and of our communities—or will we surrender our sovereignty as citizens to big government and big business?"

Take warning. It is just as vital for the future of civilization that we control atomic energy as that we control the bomb. We know a few things about the bomb, thanks to the scientists who have proved their worth as citizens. We know we may not have much time to live. And we know that our only chance to keep on living is through individual understanding and action on world problems.

The same holds true for atomic energy. We have very little time. We must use that time to learn and act or we shall be enslaved by our great discovery.

If we examine the record of one of our last revolutionary inventions,

*Mr. Edison, former governor of New Jersey, and president of Thomas A. Edison, Inc., was re-elected president of the National Municipal League at its recent National Conference on Government in Nashville, Tennessee. This article is his address before the conference on November 13.

the automobile, we should hang our heads. We have never caught up with the auto. The application of chromium has always outdistanced the application of controls. Our city streets are jammed—and our cemeteries are overcrowded, too. The air we breathe is polluted with exhaust fumes, our ears are bruised by perpetual tooting, and we wonder where our daughters are at night. For these blessings, remember, we are all paying higher taxes.

Now suppose for a moment that 30,000,000 1948 model automobiles had been delivered to a bewildered nation on June 30, 1895, when most roads were still one-way dirt lanes, when traffic controls were unheard of. The ensuing mess would have made the Johnstown flood, the Chicago fire and the San Francisco earthquake seem like minor incidents.

Too Little Time

We of this generation face a similar problem with atomic energy — except we do not have half a century in which to develop super-highways, stop lights and traffic laws. We may have only half a decade, or a decade.

When the atomic age opened, there was some frightened talk about the need for dispersing our large cities and industrial centers. But it soon became apparent that a few newer and more potent bombs could lay waste whole areas—not merely a Pittsburgh, but large sections of a Pennsylvania. Decentralization would be futile.

Yet a large amount of decentralization will be a certain result of the use of atomic energy. Better transportation and higher living stand-

ards will accelerate the outward movement of metropolitan families.

This migration will intensify the problems that have bedeviled our metropolitan areas for decades. If we let nature take its course, cities will move closer to bankruptcy as their higher income residents quit the tax rolls and the vacated dwellings sink into the slum class. Suburban areas, unable to care properly for their expanding populations, will move closer to chaos.

Almost half of our people now live in 140 metropolitan areas with central cities of more than 50,000 population. These 140 metropolitan districts have more than 4,000 separate governments and nearly 12,000 separate school districts—an average of 114 different governmental units for each district.

Imagine the confusion as more unplanned, jerry-built subdivisions are thrown up by speculative builders, and the multitude of local governments tries to decide how to operate lines for the transmission of atomic heat!

In this situation lie the danger and the opportunity. The danger is that frustrated citizens and officials, believing it impossible to solve the new problems, will follow a pattern that has already become an ominous part of American life. They may surrender their sovereignty to big, centralized government.

Or, not willing to surrender, yet unable to act, they may find their authority taken away by federal edict. Somebody has got to have authority over atomic energy. Unless we are prepared to supply enough competent local authorities from our

communities, all the power will be exercised by a few big bosses in Washington.

It is not necessary for American communities to throw in the sponge. They have a rare opportunity to show that local government and citizenship can keep pace with scientific discovery.

The Price Tag

We must recognize that this opportunity has a price tag. One part of the price is a sane reorganization of the overlapping little governments to get rid of senseless boundary lines, fragmentary boroughs and useless boards and commissions that do little except get in each other's way. Political geography in the United States is like an attic piled with all the relics and refuse accumulated since the house was built. A cleanup is long overdue.

A second part of the price is getting rid of the spoils system. We wouldn't trust an untrained wardheeler to run the locomotive or pilot the plane that carries us from one city to another. But in our community life we are still allowing wardheelers to exercise authority far beyond their training, intelligence and integrity. Good government can be had only from good men. I do not mean simply honest men. They must have thorough knowledge of government if they are to solve problems far more complex than the wardheeler's question: "Who gets the paving contract?"

Let me make it very plain that better government is not the automatic result of throwing the rascals out. The rascals should be heaved

out, by all means. But that is only the first step. We must make sure that the governmental framework is sound and workable. State constitutions need revision to take shackles off the people and their state and local public servants which are driving people in despair to call on Washington for more and more of the job of government.

Many local charters need revision to provide for the council-manager plan and to define official responsibilities so that citizens can make their weight felt. In the period since the war there has been truly remarkable progress in overhauling local government but we still have a long way to go.

If we fail to rehabilitate our state and local governments, the application of atomic energy may be retarded. You can't plant corn until the ground is plowed; you can't pour concrete until the form is ready. Our political institutions must be prepared to assume the new responsibility. One good way to start is by promoting discussions all over town in every kind of organization. We should bring in experts on government and on atomic energy.

We should get the local discussions into the newspapers, on the radio. There has been plenty of talk about the bomb. What we need now is talk about atomic energy in our own town and how we can handle it.

There are cities in this country where good government is a remote and apparently hopeless dream. Without too much difficulty I could recall the names of one or two in my own New Jersey. But there is no city anywhere in the United States

that cannot have good government if the voters demand it. That is the shining lesson from the 53 years' experience of the National Municipal League.

Born at a time when civic corruption and incompetence had reached a peak, the League pioneered with the idea that government is a science as well as an art. It has helped thousands of municipalities and counties put its sound principles to work. Now it is preparing for much greater service in the atomic age.

The vast and still unknown dimensions of atomic energy might suggest that only the central government is big enough to control it. Any such notion is dangerously false. The people of Nashville, San Diego, Iowa City, Minneapolis and Perth Amboy are not morons. When they build a school or plan a park or purchase a fire engine they do not write to a master mind in Washington. They do it themselves. That's important, because what's good for San Diego is not necessarily good for Iowa City.

State and local governments must have a real voice in shaping policies for the use of atomic energy. After all, it is the people of the states, the counties and the cities who stand to gain or lose. They have got to speak up.

The major administrative job, as distinct from policy-making, can and must be done regionally and locally. David E. Lilienthal gave brilliant proof of the advantages of decentralization when he was chairman of TVA.¹

Every assignable function of TVA has been delegated to local and state agencies. For instance, TVA does not sell electricity to consumers. It carries power to 140 locally owned, locally managed, locally financed distribution agencies.

Another good example of decentralization is the low-rent housing program created by Congress in 1937. The federal government does not own the low-rent projects that have rehoused slum dwellers in some 300 communities. In each city the program is handled by a locally appointed housing authority, operating within the framework of the federal law.

The principle of decentralization is the only way to guarantee citizen control of atomic energy.

It Is Our Business

I have no illusions about the obstacles on the democratic path. There are two of them, and they are not going to be pushed aside easily.

The first obstacle is what Mr. Lilienthal has aptly called "a growing tendency in some quarters to act as if atomic energy were none of the American public's business." Those who act that way are persons who do not believe in American principles and American ideals. They would be scornful of the verdict of a town meeting. They consider it their prerogative to determine what's good for the rest of the population. And they will use every possible means to attain their end unless citizens get busy and stop them.

The second obstacle, and the more serious of the two, is the apathy and ignorance of the majority of voters. How many have thought, talked or written about the desperately urgent

¹See "Big Government Not Inevitable," by David E. Lilienthal, the REVIEW, February 1947.

need for citizen action on atomic energy? How many have introduced the subject into meetings of professional associations, civic bodies, labor unions, church groups, fraternal organizations? How many wrote to congressmen in support of Mr. Lilienthal's appointment?

The rank and file voter doesn't yet understand that we have got to fight for our lives and liberty. The choice is between local mastery of atomic energy or subjugation by a powerful central government exercising the kind of control that could too easily pass into the hands of enemies of democracy.

Centralized control and management could mean that Washington officials would decide which communities and which manufacturers would be permitted to enjoy the advantages of atomic energy. The lives of thousands of families could be blighted or enriched by one stroke of an official pen.

Training for Leadership

Atomic energy should have the effect of making the unintelligent man obsolete. We have got to strive to make our heads more potent than uranium. We need to take a fresh look at our educational system. Our public schools and our colleges must do a great deal more than they have in the past. In the first place, since our progress and very survival depend on having enough top-flight scientific minds, we must see that every good candidate for a laboratory career gets the best possible training.

In the second place, we must train many thousands of people for civic and political leadership of the first

water. The little red clubhouse in the Third Ward was never adequate for this task. Finally, at the public school level, we must have practical training that will enable our boys and girls to mature into socially and politically competent citizens.

We must not only spend more money on education but also give our teachers more freedom. No frightened and intimidated instructor who worries more about legislative investigations than about the future of his students can measure up to the new standards. We can't train scientists without freedom. We can't train statesmen without freedom.

It is perfectly true that everybody who talks about freedom doesn't always believe in it, but all who do believe have the responsibility of planting freedom in our schools and making it grow—instead of letting little, fearful men destroy it piece by piece.

It will take a lot of hard work in all the communities to inform our citizens and alert them to the danger. It is especially hard in peacetime. During the war nearly everybody got accustomed to new and often hazardous burdens of citizenship. Civilians were ashamed to grumble when asked to take the midnight tour at the air warden's tower. But that civic sense withered with V-J Day.

Albert Beebe White, the political scientist, wrote that "English kings, working in what they believed to be their own personal interest, so used the English people in government, laid upon them for centuries such burdens and responsibilities, that

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What Makes Us So Ignorant?

Dr. Gallup traces the voter's lack of information and interest to deadly dullness of our educational system

By **GEORGE H. GALLUP***

GOVERNMENT by public opinion requires an informed electorate.

When this condition has been met the public can be counted upon to render wise decisions. Thomas Jefferson's profound faith in the sound judgment of the common people has been fully justified. One has only to study the views of the people on major issues of the last ten years, as recorded by public opinion polls, to be thoroughly convinced on this point.

We are now moving into an era, however, not envisaged by Jefferson. It is an era in which basic issues of foreign policy actually overshadow the domestic problems of this country.

If public opinion is to serve as a guide in deciding these issues of foreign policy, then the public must be as well informed about world affairs as about domestic affairs.

Look over the front page of your daily newspaper, if you have any doubt about the importance of world problems today, and then contrast the situation with that of ten years ago. In the year 1937 the front pages revealed our almost complete preoccupation with domestic problems—

sitdown strikes, Roosevelt's proposal to enlarge the Supreme Court, the WPA and other forms of relief, the NRA, the AAA.

Today, even the municipal elections in France and England are carefully examined by our political observers and reported in the press of this country. Political upheavals in Rumania, Hungary and Poland have assumed prime importance to us. The struggle in China, the tensions in Korea—all are part of this new world in which we find ourselves.

The question now arises as to how well equipped the average American is to have a sound opinion on these matters which fall within the sphere of foreign policy.

Consider, for example, the Marshall plan. No one can doubt the importance of this proposed legislation to every man, woman and child in this country. Whether the Marshall plan be judged in terms of the sums of money which must come from the American taxpayer in future years, or in terms of the part it will play in determining the destiny of the nations of the world, the tremendous importance of this plan cannot be stressed too much.

Now it must be recorded that, as of November 1, only 61 per cent of the voters of this country had ever heard or read about the Marshall plan. When our interviewers talked to a representative group of citizens from coast to coast, and asked those who said they had heard or read

*Dr. Gallup, founder and president of the American Institute of Public Opinion and of Audience Research, Inc., is vice president of the National Municipal League. This article is his address before the League's National Conference on Government at Nashville, Tennessee, November 13.

about the Marshall plan to state its purpose—by way of proving that they had some basic knowledge regarding it—the number who could pass this test dropped to about 25 per cent.

At about the same time, 93 per cent of our fellow-citizens were exercised about the momentous issue of long skirts versus short skirts and, somewhat earlier still, an even higher percentage of people said they were following the wild debates about “flying saucers.” This situation is forgivable only if it is accompanied by some interest in world affairs.

Ignorance of Geography

Now let us look at our knowledge of geography, which is today bound up so intimately with current world problems. When our interviewers asked a representative cross-section of American voters to point out on a map the location of Bulgaria, only 13 per cent—one in eight—could do so correctly. Only 17 per cent could find Rumania; 18 per cent, Hungary; 22 per cent, Yugoslavia; 25 per cent, Czechoslovakia. Yet the knowledge of where these countries are located in relation to Russia is essential to knowing why they are satellites of Russia today. The amazing fact that came to light in this study is that only one person in three amongst those who had gone to college could give the location of such countries as Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria.

Our knowledge of the geography of South America is even more faulty. Only one person in six in the adult population of this country can find on the map Bolivia, Ecuador or

Colombia. And again, the college-trained people revealed colossal ignorance regarding the location of these countries of South America.

The next presidential campaign is just around the corner. Candidates will receive party nominations within the next eight months. Needless to say, the next president of this country will play an important part in shaping the destiny of the world. Yet some of the persons who will figure importantly in this race are still unknown to many American voters. Such outstanding figures in our political life as Harold Stassen, Earl Warren, Joseph Martin, Harry Byrd, Alben Barkley, cannot be identified by more than six voters in every ten. Even such a distinguished person as James Byrnes, who has played an important role in the foreign affairs of this country, is known to but slightly more than half the voters.

I realize that some of these percentages, which to me seem regrettable low, may seem to others to be encouragingly high. Yet I do not believe that any one will take issue with me if I say that a better informed public is a highly desirable goal.

In attempting to fix the responsibility for this situation, and to suggest remedial measures, let us consider the role, first, of government, then of our media of communication, next of the schools, and lastly of the people themselves in the over-all problem of creating a better informed electorate.

First, the role of government. There are some who may argue that the general public can never be suf-

ficiently well informed to decide policy questions in the international realm; that, in fact, such decisions must be left entirely to the leaders of government and particularly to the State Department.

With this point of view I must violently disagree. There is no evidence in the history of this nation or of any other nation, in my opinion, to support this contention.

Inform the Voters

Whether the decisions are made by one person or by a small group of persons, they are likely to be faulty. It isn't necessary to point to Hitler and Mussolini. There are good enough examples from the democracies. Let me cite the case of England. At a critical moment in history—when the British public should have been fully apprized of the threat of Nazism—Stanley Baldwin, prime minister of England, thought it best to keep this information to himself. It was not long after, that the situation got completely out of hand, and England found herself completely unprepared to meet the threat of Hitlerism.

Heads of our own State Department are somewhat guilty, in my opinion, of believing that they could handle the threat of Hitler and Mussolini best without taking the people into their confidence. The time came, as it always does, when the State Department was impotent to stem the tide and we, like our English cousins, found ourselves suddenly up against a situation which we should have known about and prepared for earlier.

Had we known all the facts, I

know the people of this country would have demanded a military program which might possibly have deterred Hitler and the Japanese war lords.

Information is always withheld from the people for one reason. The leaders who are privy to it have the conceited belief that they can handle the situation better if the public is kept in ignorance. But sooner or later these situations have a way of getting out of hand and, too late, the public learns the facts of life.

Whether our State Department is today giving the people all the facts about our foreign affairs I do not know. But I do know that a majority of people in this country have their honest doubts on this score. In a recent poll a majority of voters said they thought their government was withholding information which the people ought to have regarding the world situation. This is an unhealthy state of affairs in any case.

In this new era, when foreign policy is so important, it is imperative that the public be kept well informed. The people must be told the facts even on those occasions when the leaders may honestly believe that to tell them the whole truth is dangerous. For only by following this policy can the public be prepared for any eventuality.

We come now to the role of the press, radio, magazines and motion pictures in this process of creating an informed electorate. Have these media of mass communication lived up to their responsibilities?

Many critics have blamed the press and radio for not devoting more time and space to the major

issues of the day—both foreign and domestic. I can find little to agree with in this criticism. Viewed objectively, the press and radio are now presenting more information than is demanded or absorbed by the public.

The radio is often criticized for devoting too much time to soap operas, mystery stories, variety shows and other such programs the sole purpose of which is to entertain listeners.

Education Via Radio

Yet the typical American family devotes fifteen hours to the Bob Hopes, Jimmy Durantes, Hit Parades and other strictly entertainment shows to every one hour devoted to news or educational programs. And if news programs are eliminated from this comparison, the amount of listening to entertainment shows, as opposed to educational programs dealing with world issues and problems, is in the ratio of more than a hundred hours to one.

Can we blame the radio networks for not filling up their time with educational features when there is so little public demand for them? I do not criticize people for listening to Fred Allen, Fibber McGee and Molly, Ma Perkins and all the rest. They're wonderful entertainers and they deserve full credit for adding to the joy of everyday life. Maybe there should be more such programs. But, at the same time, it is regrettable that the American people should risk breaking the furniture and their necks, racing to the radio to turn off any program which is even remotely educational.

The same situation, to a great

extent, holds true in the case of newspapers. The American Newspaper Publishers Association from time to time studies the newspaper reading habits of the people in typical American cities. Two such investigations—selected at random—give some interesting facts and comparisons.

The first was made in a typical midwestern city. On the particular day of the investigation, 82 per cent of the men readers and 70 per cent of the women readers had read the comic strip, "Dick Tracy." But only 28 per cent of the men and 25 per cent of the women had bothered to read even one paragraph of the most important news story of the day published under a large headline on page one.

In the case of the second daily newspaper, published in a southeastern city, on the day on which the reader study was made a total of 80 per cent of all men and 78 per cent of all women had read the comic strip "Blondie." But only 34 per cent of the men and 16 per cent of the women had bothered to read even a few sentences of the biggest news article on page one—a story dealing with the world grain problem. In short, nearly five times as many women and more than twice as many men had preferred to race past this report on a great world problem to read the daily doings of Blondie.

But again, I do not wish to belittle the reading of comic strips by adults. They add to the merriment of the times and they seem to be perfectly harmless to old and to young. But this doesn't alter the fact that it might be better for this

country if both men and women readers dwelt a few minutes longer on the front page of their newspapers before turning to the comic strips, sports and household features.

How often motion picture critics bewail the absence from the screen of movies which deal with problems of the day. And yet, as one who has had the opportunity to study the appeal of hundreds of motion pictures, I can vouch for the fact that even the slightest hint that a new movie is "educational" is enough to keep people away in "droves," as *Variety* would put it.

Educational Movies Shunned

Off hand, I can recall four pictures which were superbly done and yet, in the language of the picture business, were box office flops. One of these was "Abe Lincoln in Illinois." Another was "Victory Through Air Power," released in the early days of the war and a masterpiece of reducing problems of war strategy to the level of understanding of the least educated. Another was the great picture "Wilson," and more recently a picture titled "The Beginning or the End," a story dealing with the atom bomb. Even dressed up in the cloak of entertainment these pictures lost hundreds of thousands of dollars for their producers because the public somehow figured out that they might be polluted with educational material.

Why is it that anything that can be classified by the American public as educational is so likely to be regarded as unbearably dull? This brings me to the role of our schools and universities in the problem of

making sure that we have an informed electorate in this land of ours.

I believe that people regard anything that is educational as dull simply because education in this country has been made dull. Certainly the prevailing attitude among most of our students, and even many teachers, is that education is a dull business, essential somehow to success in life but otherwise pretty tedious.

The conception that learning can be fun, that it can be as exciting as a trip around the world or a journey back into ancient times, as challenging as a good mystery story, as useful as one's arms and legs, and as real as life itself—that, I am afraid, is a conception of education which is rarely found in the educational world.

Most everyone has sat through many dull and profitless hours in classes in which the teacher seemed to be as bored as his students with the subject, and whose ability to make the course materials come to life, to give them importance and relationship with the problems of the day, was virtually nil.

At least that is the only reason that I can find to explain the fact that whilst we Americans have more formal schooling than the people of any other nation of the world, we are—in terms of this schooling—the least well informed. An Englishman who has had little more schooling than that provided by grammar schools in his country, is likely to read more books than an American who has had the advantage of college training.

In saying these things, I do not

wish to be recorded as one of those critics of our educational system who advocates turning our high schools and colleges into trade schools or who insist that we teach only the so-called "practical" subjects. I believe merely that we should make learning something which is just as exciting and vital as life itself.

New Concept of Education

In fact, I believe the time has come when we must revise our entire concept of education in this country. We must give up this idea that education is a sort of discipline, good for the young and unimportant for the adult. Perhaps we should give up the present practice of grading students on their achievement and instead grade teachers on their ability to create an interest in the subjects which they teach—an interest so deep-rooted that it carries on for years beyond the classroom.

And now, finally, what of the responsibility of the people themselves in this problem of keeping informed about the world.

All will agree that the responsibility rests largely upon each individual to keep abreast of the times.

The government can do its part in making facts available, the press and the radio can report fully the events of the world, but the people themselves must have the desire to know what is going on outside their own tiny spheres if democracy is to function at its best.

How revealing it would be to listen in on the conversation at the dinner tables in the forty million homes in this country. In how many of these homes is the discussion limited to the trivia of the day's work, or small talk about friends and neighbors.

Think of the wonderful opportunity that is being lost today by parents who fail to inform and interest their children in the great and exciting problems of the world. Think of the boredom of the parents themselves whose lives are circumscribed by such narrow interests!

Maybe the time has come when we should think of learning as a goal in itself—for old and young alike. Maybe we should take seriously the Biblical injunction to "Seek ye the truth and the truth shall make you free."

City Manager for Washington?

Congressional committee finds government of capital city a hopeless hodge-podge; suggests council-manager plan.

By JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS*

WE LIKE to think of the city of Washington these days as the center of world democracy — the capital of the democratic world. For the free peoples of the earth are looking to the United States and its capital city for spiritual and material sustenance in these critical times. But how many of them know, and how many Americans realize, that the people of Washington live in a state of political peonage and that its charter dates back almost unchanged to 1874?

Today the city of Washington has almost 900,000 residents. More people live there than in thirteen states of the Union. They pay millions in taxes, are exceptionally literate, and have all the earmarks of an advanced culture. But, believe it or not, they have no representation in Congress and elect none of their local officials.

In the capital city of the world's greatest democracy you might expect to find a model system of local

self-government. But if you examine it, as I have done as chairman of a congressional investigating committee, you find a patchwork setup that looks like a political Donnybrook Fair. The present government of Washington, set up in 1874 as a temporary arrangement, has continued down to the present time by a process of drift and neglect, not in pursuance of any governmental principle or deliberate desire to deprive its residents of home rule.

Washington has not always been voteless and voiceless. Nor did the founding fathers contemplate that it would be. James Madison, who had been a delegate to the constitutional convention and later served in the first four Congresses, informed the people in *The Federalist* that the inhabitants of the federal district "will have had their voice in the election of the government which is to exercise authority over them." And he went on to say that "a municipal legislature for local purposes, derived from their own suffrages, will of course be allowed them."

These expectations were soon fulfilled. After shifting its site several times, the federal government moved to the District of Columbia in 1800. Two years later Congress granted Washington a municipal charter with a mayor appointed by the president and a city council elected by the people. Georgetown and Alexandria were municipal corporations when the district was created

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and they continued to operate as such. From 1812 to 1820 the council was permitted to elect the mayor. And from 1820 to 1871 the people were allowed to elect the mayor as well as the members of the council.

Meanwhile, Washington was beginning to grow up from its infant beginning. The Civil War and reconstruction periods swelled its population to 131,700 in 1871. But as the seat of the national government the city was a sight to behold with its muddy streets, its open sewers, stinking swamps and sordid slums. The growing district was desperately in need of public improvements and social services which its weak and divided local governments were poorly equipped to provide.

Territorial Government Created

Preoccupied at the time with the tasks of reconstruction, Congress was glad to delegate the work of rehabilitating the capital city to local hands. By an act of February 21, 1871, Congress created a territorial form of government for the district, consisting of a governor, a board of public works and a legislative assembly. The governor and the board of public works were appointed by the president and the legislative assembly was elected in part by the people. The assembly consisted of two houses: a council of eleven members appointed by the president to represent the national interest and a house of delegates with 25 members elected each year by the people. In addition, the people were permitted to send a speaking but non-voting delegate to the House of Representatives as Alaska and Hawaii do today.

Under this new regime, the old

city charters were abolished and the towns within the district were merged into a unified city of Washington. Alexandria and the Virginia segment of the ten-mile square had been receded to that state back in 1846. The governor was the central figure in the territorial regime. He administered the various departments, controlled the city jobs, and could veto acts of the legislative assembly, subject to overriding votes by a two-thirds majority. Congress retained power to veto the acts of either the governor or the legislative assembly. There were also independent boards of health, education and law enforcement. Under this setup the people of the district had a voice in the house of delegates and a spokesman in the House of Representatives, but Governor Shepherd was the real boss of the town.

With great speed and energy Governor Shepherd launched an ambitious public works program which soon transformed the face of the capital city. But his reckless expenditures shocked the taxpayers and Congress liquidated the Shepherd regime in 1874. In its place Congress created a temporary district commission to carry on the necessary municipal functions until a new government could be established. Some of the powers that had been exercised by the governor and the board of public works went to the new commissioners and Congress itself took over most of the functions of the legislative assembly. All suffrage rights were suspended. This makeshift system lasted until July 1, 1878, when with a few minor changes it was made permanent.

During the 70 years since 1878 Washington has grown to be a great city with almost a million inhabitants. It is one of the most beautiful capital cities in the world. In outward appearance it is the fitting capital of a nation now at the pinnacle of its power and prestige. But it is still governed by the antiquated charter of 1878.

Hodgepodge of Agencies

A committee of the House of Representatives, of which I am chairman, has just completed an exhaustive study of Washington's hodgepodge government. We find it is incredibly complicated, confused and cumbersome. From a mere handful of agencies in 1878 it has grown like Topsy, until today there are about 125 major units of government rendering services in the district, of which 48 are federal and 77 district agencies. And there are as many more sub-units.

Federal, state, county and municipal functions are scattered among a host of governmental agencies without rhyme or reason. Authority over district affairs is divided among many independent boards and commissions. A dozen agencies share the ordinance-making power and executive authority is likewise hopelessly splintered.

At the top of this crazy-quilt setup is a board of three commissioners who exercise a split and ineffectual supervision of local affairs. None of the local officials is elected. Members of the board and other key posts are appointed by the president and are often used to pay political debts. Training and experience in municipal

administration are not the criteria of appointment. Vacancies in local judicial and administrative posts are often left unfilled for long periods by a busy president preoccupied with larger affairs, and outsiders are frequently selected for these places to the neglect and disappointment of local talent.

The administrative branch has developed haphazardly over the years. New agencies have been created from time to time as the need for the performance of new functions has arisen. As a result, the administrative structure of the district government consists of a conglomeration of bureaus, boards, commissions and offices in large part independent of each other and collectively conforming to no consistent principle of organization. For many years the inevitable result has been confusion, duplication, overlapping of organization and functions, conflicts of jurisdiction and unnecessary cost.

At the present time, for example, five governmental agencies in Washington are charged with police protection, three with recreation, two with water supply, two with road building and two with the care of trees. Nor is there any unified personnel system for local employees.

As one local newspaper editor has put it, "the city could well adopt the nine-headed Hydra slain by Hercules as its symbol."

Intertwined with this tangled network of local agencies are more than two score federal agencies which operate in the district and render services to it, such as the district courts and the U. S. Employment Service. At the hearings held by the

district investigating committee last July it took federal officials four days and 120 printed pages to explain the intricate relationships of their agencies and services to the district. And it took a huge, three-dimensional colored chart to display in understandable form the complex structure and interrelationships of the district government.

Budget Bureau Too!

One of the numerous federal agencies involved in this curious tangle is the Bureau of the Budget. This bureau, which is in the executive office of the president, intervenes between the district commissioners and the Congress. All local legislative proposals and appropriation estimates must pass its censorship before Congress can see them, even though the bureau may know little of local conditions and needs. The city fathers must get a "green light" from the Budget Bureau before they can communicate with their city council or submit the local budget to the appropriations committees of Congress.

Madison's early assurance of a locally elected municipal legislature has remained unrealized since 1874. In place of government by consent of the governed, Congress has chosen for 73 years to sit as a city council for the disfranchised people of Washington. Each session much legislation dealing with district affairs is introduced in both houses and referred to the District of Columbia committees. These committees often find it difficult to muster a quorum for consideration of such municipal matters, since members

are naturally more interested in the affairs of their own congressional districts.

The House Committee on the District of Columbia, of which I have been a member for five years, has 25 members; the Senate District Committee has thirteen members. Assignments to the district committees are unpopular and are often given to newcomers. Nine members of the House District Committee today are first-term members and two are second-termers. All the members but one of the Senate District Committee are freshman senators, including the chairman, Senator Buck.

Congressmen are reluctant to serve on the district committee because it has often proved to be a political graveyard. They are more interested in national and international affairs than in enacting local ordinances for the capital city.

District Legislation

Look at the petty chicken feed which the district committees are asked to consider. Among the bills during the first session of the 80th Congress were measures to rehabilitate alcoholics, prohibit mixed boxing bouts, regulate barbers' hours of work, destroy starlings, save daylight time, regulate embalmers and serve straws in Washington restaurants. It took acts of Congress to change the name of Conduit Road to MacArthur Boulevard and remove a couple of ancient posts in front of the White House. It is absurd that Congress should have to deal with such petty matters when great issues of peace and reconstruction are pressing for decision.

Consider the legislative hurdles that even a trivial district bill must surmount before it becomes the law of the land. First it is assigned to one of the six subcommittees which divide the labor of screening district legislation. (If the bill originated in one of the city departments, it has to run the gauntlet of the board of commissioners and the Budget Bureau before it can even be introduced in the House of Representatives.) After subcommittee consideration, possible hearings and favorable action, the bill is reported to the full House District Committee. If the full committee approves it, the bill is then reported to the House where it may come up for consideration on the second or fourth Monday of the month, which days are reserved under a house rule for consideration of District of Columbia matters. Few members of the House are likely to be present on the floor on district day so that, if the bill is approved, it may be by a comparatively small minority of all the members. The House approved the district appropriation bill for 1944 with only 28 out of 435 members voting.

Having passed the House, all the steps described above must then be repeated in the Senate. If the Senate and House disagree about the bill, it is sent to a conference committee which will try to compose the difference and whose report must go back to both houses for their approval. Having finally passed both houses, unless it has meanwhile gotten lost in the shuffle, our bill then goes to the president for his signature. Thus there are at least eight stages in the ordeal that district legislation must

go through before it can become effective.

In actual practice, under these circumstances, the affairs of the District of Columbia are controlled by congressional minorities; a large part of the work is done by committee staff aids; Congress as a whole is ignorant of and indifferent to district problems; and a member's vote on district legislation often depends on the sentiments of the folks back home rather than upon the views of the voteless residents and taxpayers of the district. Small wonder, then, that relations between Congress and the capital community are sometimes hostile and that the needs of the city of Washington are neglected. Congress at best is a clumsy city council. It should be relieved of the task of managing the city's routine business. I agree with the La Follette-Monroney committee that "the nation cannot afford the luxury of having its national legislative body and the district committees in both the House and Senate perform the duties of a city council for the District of Columbia."

Solving the Problem

The solution of Washington's dilemma is an easy and simple one. It calls for no act of political heroism, no profound intellectual feat. All Congress need do is grant Washington a modern city charter. During recent decades great advances have been made in governmental organization and administration, particularly at the local level. In the early years of this century the commission type of city government enjoyed great popularity, but has been eclipsed in the last 30 years by the more effective

managerial type of city government which had its inception in Staunton, Virginia, in 1908, and has since been adopted by 800 American cities. Eighty-one cities adopted council-manager government during 1946.

I believe that the council-manager plan, with suitable modifications to meet the peculiar conditions of our national capital, is the answer to Washington's dilemma. This plan applies to city government the business-manager principle which has been successfully employed for many years by private corporations. The essential and admirable feature of the manager plan is the separation of the function of legislation from those of administration without a separation of powers, coupled with a concentration of administrative responsibility in the hands of one man under the control of the council.

It is interesting to recall in this connection that Mr. Richard S. Childs, chairman of the National Municipal League's council, who produced the city manager plan by uniting the commission plan and the Staunton plan, shares its paternity with the father of our country. In a letter to Benjamin Stoddert in 1792, George Washington said in part:

"It has always been my opinion, and still is so, that the administration of the affairs of the federal city ought to be under the immediate direction of a judicious and skillful superintendent . . . one in whom is united knowledge of men and things, industry, integrity, impartiality and firmness; and that this person should reside on the spot."

After a full month of hearings and an intensive nonpartisan study, my

committee is recommending to Congress adoption of a new organic act for the government of the District of Columbia. Our plan proposes a representative local government chosen by the qualified electors of the district, responsible for providing all essential governmental services to the community, subject to the will of Congress. The plan also provides a streamlined efficient governmental structure for the district with clear distinctions drawn between areas of federal and district responsibility.

Council-Manager Provided

The new charter would provide the council-manager form of government. All powers of local government would be vested in an elected district council, including the power to tax and spend. The government would be organized into eleven departments along functional lines, with each function concentrated in one department instead of being splintered among several agencies. Financial affairs would be completely divorced from those of the national government. Federal functions would be performed by federal agencies and local functions by local agencies. The line of responsibility for the conduct of the district government would run straight from the voters to the district council, chosen at large in nonpartisan elections, to the district manager to the department heads. Federal employees with voting residences in the states would be allowed to vote in district council elections without jeopardizing their tax or employment status.

Under our plan the government of the District of Columbia would, of course, remain subject to ultimate

control by Congress because of its constitutional authority over the seat of the national government.

Under the proposed new charter Congress would have ample means of protecting the federal interest in the District of Columbia. It could repeal or amend the charter at any time or veto legislation passed by the district council. A joint congressional committee would be set up to maintain continuous surveillance of district affairs. Local legislation on a par with that enacted by state legislatures would lie over for 30 days, subject to congressional veto, before becoming effective.

At a time when the United States is striving to make the world safe for democracy again, let us not forget that there are some major gaps in the democratic landscape at home, particularly in the nation's capital. The people of Washington want local home rule, not statehood. Our plan would give them a chance to solve their own problems. It would also relieve Congress of a work load it should not have to bear. We cannot expect Washington to remain a politically depressed area, on the one hand, and capital of the democratic world, on the other. At present, it is a standing invitation to hostile propaganda. Congress has an enviable opportunity to create here a model local government. I hope it will seize this opportunity now and restore democracy and efficiency to the capital city of our country.

THE ATOM IN LOCAL DEMOCRACY

(Continued from Page 611)

they went far toward creating the Englishman's governmental sense and competence."

The medieval freeholder often spent an average of one week each month working for the king—without pay. This heavy investment finally paid off by training the freeholders so thoroughly that they were able to take the government away from the kings.

Americans have never known that kind of discipline. It is not impossible we may yet taste it. For there are kingly advocates of centralized power today who would despoil our people of the rights and privileges of self-government. They would put their royal crest upon atomic energy and tell the commoners to keep their clumsy hands off.

We, the people, still have the power to stem the tide toward complete centralization. We can avoid an age of darkness that might last for centuries. But we can keep our nation bright and free only by using our power with intelligence, determination and full awareness of the stakes.

The control of atomic energy is the battleground. Let us assert our sovereign rights and defend them with all our hearts and with all our strength.

Let Cities Manage Themselves

Home rule will continue to be hampered unless legislators, city officials and judges learn to understand its aims.

By HARVEY WALKER*

PROFESSOR Howard Lee McBain, in his book *American City Progress and the Law*,¹ said, "Whatever general arguments may be advanced in opposition to the plan of extending larger powers to cities, home rule is arriving fast. One fourth of the states of the union have by constitutional provision already conferred upon some or all of their cities the power to frame and adopt their own charters." The list at that time included Missouri (1875), California (1879), Washington (1889), Minnesota (1896), Colorado (1902), Oregon (1906), Oklahoma (1908), Michigan (1908), Arizona (1912), Ohio (1912), Nebraska (1912), and Texas (1912). Since that time only Maryland (Baltimore only) (1918), Wisconsin (1924), New York (1925), Pennsylvania (1922), Utah (1932), and West Virginia (1936) have adopted constitutional amendments granting home rule to cities.

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¹Columbia University Press, New York, 1918 (page 4).

Pennsylvania has never implemented its grant so there are as yet no home rule cities in that state. Idaho is sometimes listed as a home rule state, but a recent inquiry to the secretary of state resulted in a denial that home rule was available there or ever had been. Nevada has made substantial home rule available to cities by statute.

Thus there are now eighteen states where home rule is substantially available today. This hardly gives the impression that "home rule is arriving fast."

The number of cities which have taken advantage of these constitutional powers varies widely from state to state. For one thing the grants are limited in some states, as in Maryland and Washington. In other states there is singular apathy.

Arizona reports six cities with home rule charters, including all the larger cities of the state. In Minnesota there are 79 cities operating under home rule charters, as compared with 34 operating under general or special laws. Thirty-one of these charters were adopted in the period 1920-1945.

Missouri reports only six cities with home rule charters, all of them small in population. In Nebraska there are only three home rule charter cities. New York reports that five cities have adopted new charters under the city home rule law. They are Buffalo, New Rochelle, Sherrill, Rochester and Syracuse. Other cities

have made extensive amendments to their legislative charters under the provisions of the home rule law.

The Oregon home rule amendment has resulted in 107 cities adopting home rule charters. As in New York, a city in Oregon may adopt an amendment to its original legislative charter. Forty-five cities have done this. Only fourteen cities continue to operate under their original legislative charters, and there are between 20 and 30 more which operate under general laws.

In Texas there are 95 cities operating under home rule charters. Of these, fifteen are of less than 5,000 population according to the 1940 census. There are only 21 cities in Texas, having populations of more than 5,000 in 1940, which have not adopted home rule charters.

Utah cities have not made any use of the home rule power conferred upon them in 1932 because they consider the grant illusory. In Washington, where home rule is restricted to cities over 20,000 population, all eligible cities — eight — have taken advantage of the grant.

Only three West Virginia cities have successfully adopted home rule charters. They include, however, Charleston, the capital and largest city, Oak Hill and Grafton. The attorney general, who is required to approve all such charters as to conformity with the constitution and general laws of the state, reports that five other charters are now being given consideration in his office.

This partial survey of the municipal home rule situation in those states which have constitutional provisions authorizing it suggests that

there must be some substantial reason why home rule has caught on in Oregon, Minnesota and Texas and has not caught on in Missouri, Nebraska, New York and Utah. There must be a reason why so few states have adopted the home rule plan for their cities since 1912, and why an urbanized state like Pennsylvania after numerous attempts, has failed to secure an enabling act from the legislature, thus nullifying by inaction a policy adopted by the voters a quarter of a century ago.

Home Rule a Trap?

It is submitted that constitutional home rule, far from being the panacea which it was originally considered to be, has, in reality, been a trap into which thousands of well intentioned but naive local officials have been lured to futile inaction or to unequal struggles with state officials, particularly the courts.

McBain foresaw this situation when he said: "The plan of granting home rule by constitutional provision has produced some unhappy consequences. It is easy enough to say that cities may adopt charters 'for their own government' or regulate their 'municipal affairs,' or exercise 'all powers of local self-government,' but what do these undefined phrases mean? Who is to decide whether this or that specific matter is a proper subject for regulation and control by a municipality? And where a state law covers the same subject matter as a charter provision who shall declare whether this matter is one of state or of local concern?"² Who, indeed, but the courts

²*Ibid.*, page 5.

The courts by fine reasoning and doubtful analogies drawn from the field of constitutional law in a federal system have had to decide these questions. The resulting case law is weird, conflicting and of doubtful validity. In a few states, where the courts have gotten off on the right path at the outset, home rule has been a satisfying device. In most of the others it is a nightmare of conflicting rulings. The local officials do not know where they stand, except that whenever they get into the courts they are likely to lose some additional area of local action.

State Studies Needed

The fundamental studies in the law and practice of municipal home rule made by McBain and McGoldrick³ need to be brought down to date. Much has happened in recent years. Each home rule state where there has been any use of the power has been prolific with decisions. What is needed at the present moment is a doctoral dissertation on municipal home rule in each of the eighteen states in which it has been used, followed by a synthesis by a competent scholar to give us the exact picture. We could learn where and why home rule has worked and where and why it has failed. We would then be ready to sit down and consider where we should go from here.

Much that has been done cannot

be undone, no matter how erroneous it seems. But there must be some way to obtain the great benefits and advantages which flow from local responsibility for local affairs, short of revolution. There must be a way in which the cities can be emancipated from the unsympathetic and non-understanding control of rural-dominated legislatures. It is up to us to find it.

No such scholarly study has as yet been made for Ohio, but I will point up some of the deficiencies of municipal home rule by examples from that state. In one sense, Ohio differs from most home rule states in that all its cities and villages are deemed to possess home rule powers, derived directly from the state constitution, without the necessity of adopting a home rule charter.⁴

About all that is added by the adoption of a charter is that the people of the city may establish a form of government differing somewhat from that prescribed by the general or optional laws. This is a substantial advantage to the cities, however, since the general law and optional plans are an inconsistent patchwork built up by piecemeal additions since 1902 when the Ohio Supreme Court invalidated the whole municipal code because of an abuse of the principle of classification to avoid the constitutional prohibition against special legislation.

The code, originally adopted before home rule, has never been re-

³*The Law and the Practice of Municipal Home Rule*, by Howard Lee McBain, Columbia University Press, New York, 1916; *The Law and Practice of Municipal Home Rule 1916-1930*, by Joseph D. McGoldrick, Columbia University Press, 1933.

⁴*Perrysburg v. Ridgeway*, 108 O.S. 245, 140 N.E. 595; *Youngstown v. Evans*, 121 O.S. 342; *Cincinnati v. Gamble*, 138 O.S. 220, 34 N.E. 2d 226; *State ex rel Arey v. Sherill*, 142 O.S. 574, 53 N.E. 2d 501.

vised in a thorough-going manner since 1912, when the home rule amendment was added to the constitution. Thus it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine legislative intent. Certainly, if the General Assembly should reconsider today the basic framework of local government, it would be greatly influenced by the home rule amendment. In the meantime, local officials are left to guess at the interpretation of state laws which may or may not apply to their affairs.

A reading of some of the decisions of the Ohio Supreme Court dealing with home rule should convince any candid person of the uncertainties under which Ohio city officials must labor. It is submitted that, in this respect, Ohio is neither the worst nor the best of the states in dealing with the interpretation of its home rule amendment.

Legal Difficulties

The difficulties which have been encountered in every state with the application of municipal home rule arise from many sources. In the first place, the basic concepts of the law of municipal corporations were well established and generally understood long before home rule became widely available. The courts continually refer to the decisions and rules of law developed in this pre-home-rule era as establishing the rule for post-home-rule cases.

The standard works on municipal corporations written by lawyers and found in most law libraries are Dillon and McQuillin, both of which give small attention indeed to the effect of home rule in modifying the

older rules of law. Judges are inclined to make a rather non-discriminating use of them, as they are called upon to decide cases, rather than of more recent volumes which deal more adequately with home rule, such as McBain and McGoldrick. The attorneys who prepare the briefs upon which these cases are considered by appellate courts commonly follow the same practice.

In the second place, there is a temptation, to which courts too frequently yield, to use the very vagueness of the grant of home rule powers as an excuse for making a decision which is really based on expediency, or, as they say in their opinions, upon public policy. How else can one explain some of the decisions which claim for the state an overriding interest in such areas as police and fire protection, matters which have always been considered the essence of home rule. A state statute imposing upon all cities an invariable rule of layoff, according to seniority, makes home rule a mere shadow.

In defense of the courts and lawyers, it should be pointed out that it is extremely difficult to make the theory of home rule square with the fundamental political theory under which our federal system operates. Our national government is one of enumerated powers, listed in the constitution. Of course these have been somewhat expanded by the policy of broad construction which has been followed consistently by the Supreme Court since the times of John Marshall.

The constitution also denies certain powers to the national govern-

ment as well as certain of the same ones, as well as others, to the states. Then, by the tenth amendment, all powers not granted to the national government by the constitution nor denied by it to the states are reserved to the several states or to the people. Thus the power to deal with such matters as the creation and powers of municipal corporations (except in the District of Columbia and in federal territories) is reserved to the states.

Cities Creatures of State

From the foundation of the republic, state legislatures have possessed a power of life and death over municipal corporations. They have provided for their creation, government and powers, and could alter these powers or destroy the corporation at will. Cities were considered mainly as agents for the execution of certain state legislation.

The concept of inherent powers was sometimes asserted but was hotly denied. Sovereignty, said these defenders of the *status quo*, was one and indivisible. They shut their eyes to the fact that already it had been divided once, between the national government and the states. It was unthinkable to them that there should be any group or area within the state which was not subject to the plenary power of the state.

This was the generally accepted view of the status of municipal corporations at the turn of the century, with the possible exception of Missouri, California, Washington and Minnesota, which had, they thought, inaugurated a new era of freedom by the adoption of constitutional provisions for municipal home rule.

One of the bases on which the proponents of municipal home rule rested their demands was that the tenth amendment recognized the possibility that certain governmental powers might be reserved to the people rather than to the states. They argued that this would justify a state constitutional provision reserving power of local self-government to the people of the cities.

Ever since the adoption of this amendment there has been debate over what was meant by the phrase "or to the people." Some said it meant the people of the United States, acting collectively—the same people who were referred to in the preamble. Others said it meant the people of the state, as a corporate group, and that these people might, by reservation in the state constitution under which they created a state government, withhold from such government any powers which they desired and exercise them themselves.

We are familiar with the use of this theory in the constitutional provisions relating to the initiative and referendum. Until the advocates of home rule came along, no one had suggested that the term "the people," as used in the tenth amendment, meant individuals or groups of individuals less than all of those in a state.

Our democratic theory of limited government fits quite well the concept behind the initiative and referendum. The people of the state create the state, they are the state, and when they set up a government they can endow it with whatever powers they please (short of viola-

tion of the national constitution), reserving the rest to themselves by specific exceptions in the state constitutional document.

But when we try to justify the people of a single city, only a small part of the people of the state, making a reservation of the power of local self-government, we get into difficulties. Are these cities to be little sovereignties, or are they to remain subject to the authority of the people of the whole state? If they are to be independent for certain purposes and subordinate for others, who is to draw the line and to enforce its observance? Unless one is willing to envision a divided state sovereignty, like that between the nation and the states, within the state, home rule becomes theoretically impossible. Only by self-denial on the part of the state legislature, the state courts, and city officials can home rule be made to operate.

Educate Public Officials

Apparently, in some of the present home rule states, there is not the disposition to allow it to operate as the city dwellers would like. The remedy is not hard to find but it is extremely difficult to apply. It would seem that the reform of our state legislatures to make them fully representative of the people, urban as well as rural, is the first step.

Then it is necessary to educate legislators, city officials and judges as to the objectives of the system. They must not only understand what the home rule plan is designed to do, but they will have to be actuated by an earnest desire to make it

succeed. Legislators will have to be persuaded that, if it works well, it will save them time and enable local government to be adjusted to the needs of individual cities. City officials must learn that they cannot proceed as they will, without regard to the welfare of the rest of the people of the state. Judges must learn that local government is not carried on today under the rules formulated by Judge Dillon, nor can it be if the needs of city dwellers are to be met.

With a disposition such as I have envisioned, actuating the principals in this field of social adjustment, it may well be asked whether a constitutional provision is necessary or desirable to make provision for home rule. McBain in his *American City Progress and the Law* makes an excellent case for statutory home rule.⁵ His arguments are as good today as when they were made.

Perhaps our energy might be better spent on education of legislators and enactment of better laws, the election of better judges, and the education of local officials rather than on the promotion of home rule amendments to state constitutions which well may, as in Utah, prove illusory. The reduction of certain broad general phrases now found in such amendments to concrete terms would be a highly profitable employment, even though lists of municipal and state powers so compiled might have to be changed constantly to keep them in harmony with social development.

⁵Pages 1-29.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Elections Bring Manager Total to 800

Massachusetts Leads in New Adoptions

FOUR cities in Massachusetts, two in New Hampshire and one in North Carolina were added by the November 4 elections to the list of council-manager cities, towns and counties, bringing the unofficial total to 800. Two more adoptions came later in the month.

In **Massachusetts** four more cities adopted Plan E (manager and proportional representation council). They are: **Worcester** (193,694) which approved the plan by a vote of 42,179 to 22,154; **Quincy** (75,810) where the vote was 17,187 to 7,745; **Medford** (63,083) by 15,830 votes to 4,467; and **Revere** (34,405) with a vote of 13,931 to 2,059. In two cities where the plan was up for adoption it was defeated: **Pittsfield** (49,684) by a vote of 7,176 to 4,229, and **Fitchburg** (41,824) by 9,476 to 5,715. (See also page 641.)

In **New Hampshire** the city of **Keene** (13,832) adopted the manager plan by a vote of 1,632 to 1,460; the board of aldermen is to appoint a manager in January. A manager proposal was defeated in **Manchester** (77,685) by a vote of 10,218 to 11,683. In **Portsmouth** (14,821) a proposal for a nine-member council elected at large, which would choose a manager, received a majority of 45 on a recount held at the request of the Portsmouth Civic Association. Original reports gave 3,529 affirmative votes and 2,225 negative, but the proposition was deemed to require a majority of the total vote at the election, 7,250. The city of **Franklin** adopt-

ed the council-manager plan, 1,506 to 1,296, on November 25.

On November 4 **Winston-Salem, North Carolina**, adopted a state enabling act providing the council-manager plan by 2,266 to 2,010. The act, passed by the 1947 legislature, authorizes the board of aldermen to hire a manager as of July 1, 1948. The manager will be "an overseer of all municipal departments," reports the *Winston-Salem Journal*. He will have power to "hire and fire" all city employees except department heads who will be appointed by the board of aldermen.

Richmond, Virginia, (193,042) overwhelmingly approved a council-manager charter on November 4; but this must be submitted to the state legislature, which move is expected to be taken in January. If it passes that body, as appears quite likely, an election of councilmen is probable in June or July, 1948. The new charter, which received an affirmative vote of 21,567 as against 8,060, was drafted by a charter commission (see the REVIEW, May 1947, page 269), and among other features would replace the present two-chamber council of 32 members by a single council of nine elected at large.

On November 12 **Menlo Park, California**, adopted the council-manager plan by ordinance.

At a special town meeting held on November 5 voters of **Jamestown, Rhode Island**, approved the council-manager form of government. The voters then directed the Citizens Advisory Committee, which has been considering the plan, to proceed with the drafting of council-manager legislation for submission to the legislature in January. Jamestown is the first town in Rhode Island to adopt the plan.

Old Orchard Beach, Maine, defeated a proposed manager charter 600 to 539.

In **Taunton, Massachusetts**, where there have been four mayors in eleven months one of whom went to jail, Plan E (manager and P. R. council) has been mentioned as a means of getting a continuous, trained administrative head.

Voters of **Danville, Virginia**, at a special election held November 18, defeated a proposed manager charter by a vote of 1,647 to 1,582.

At the November 4 election **West Point, Virginia**, defeated a manager charter by a vote of 248 to 145; **Ches-terfield County, Virginia**, failed to adopt a proposal providing the county manager plan by 2,772 to 1,582.

The city council of **Dalton, Georgia**, has made arrangements to submit to the voters on December 10 a charter amendment to establish the manager plan.

A proposed council-manager charter failed of adoption in **Cocoa, Florida**, by a vote of 150 to 118. The city has been operating under a manager ordinance adopted in 1946.

The **Fairmont, West Virginia**, charter board has completed its preparation of a new charter which provides the council-manager plan. Public hearings are now being held on the document. It is expected that the final draft of the charter will be submitted to referendum at a special election within a few months. If approved it will become effective July 1, 1948.

Petitions asking for a referendum on a proposed general charter revision and provision for the manager plan have been circulated in **Adrian, Michigan**, under the auspices of the Junior Chamber of Commerce. It is hoped to have the election in January.

A suggested council-manager charter has been drafted by a committee of the city council of **South Haven, Michi-**

gan, and has the support of the mayor and a group of citizens.

In **St. Cloud, Minnesota**, a fifteen-member charter commission has been working for several months on a new charter, and is reported to be favorable to the manager plan.

Voters of **South St. Paul, Minnesota**, on November 4, defeated a proposed manager charter by 2,339 to 876.

A committee has been established in **Oshkosh, Wisconsin**, for education on the council-manager plan. The Chamber of Commerce is similarly interested.

A petition with 440 signatures has been presented to the city council of **DeSoto, Missouri**, by the Junior Chamber of Commerce, asking for a special election on adoption of the council-manager plan.

Mayor Robert Buckmaster of **Waterloo, Iowa**, has appointed a committee of 50 citizens, headed by himself, to sponsor a campaign for a popular vote on the council-manager plan. The committee is composed of representatives of labor, management, the clergy, veterans, men's and women's clubs and service groups, and is charged with responsibility for educating the people of Waterloo on the manager plan and circulating petitions for its adoption.

A group of citizens in **Gothenburg, Nebraska**, is interested in the council-manager plan.

Cozad, Nebraska, defeated a council-manager proposal on November 4 by twelve votes. The vote, 323 to 311, was the largest ever cast in the city.

Vernal, Utah, (2,199) is reported by the International City Managers' Association to have adopted a manager ordinance on November 13, 1946.

On October 25 the voters of **Pelly, Texas**, re-elected a charter commission that had been appointed by the mayor and drafted a manager charter, but had later been repudiated by the mayor, who put up an opposing slate.

An election on adoption of a charter is expected in January. Pelly is a consolidation of Baytown, Goose Creek and Pelly, and is expected to be renamed Baytown when a charter is adopted.

The board of directors of the **Monrovia, California**, Chamber of Commerce on November 7 went on record as 100 per cent in favor of the council-manager plan. They have forwarded their recommendations to the city council.

A public forum held by the board of freeholders of **Santa Barbara, California**, in October indicated overwhelming sentiment for a council-manager charter.

A Chamber of Commerce sponsored citizens committee of **Torrance, California**, has prepared a final draft of a proposed city charter amendment providing the council-manager plan. The amendment will be submitted to the voters at a special election which the city council has agreed to call without the necessity of circulating petitions.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Ellensburg, Washington**, has been disseminating information concerning the manager plan.

The **Tacoma, Washington**, League of Women Voters is giving sympathetic study to the council-manager plan.

A five-day training institute in city management was held in September at the University of Maine at Orono, attended by 29 managers of municipalities in Maine, Vermont, Connecticut and Canada. It was sponsored jointly by the Maine Town and City Managers' Association, the International City Managers' Association and the university. It included a "clinical analysis" of city management functions, led by Director Ridley of the ICMA; reports of three University of Maine students on their summer internships in city managers' offices, and

a day's discussion of the technique and problems of budget preparation and administration.

New Jersey Adopts New Constitution; Kentucky Loses

The new constitution drafted last summer by the New Jersey Constitutional Convention (see the REVIEW, September 1947, page 452, and October 1947, page 513) was overwhelmingly approved by the voters on November 4, the complete vote being 659,944 to 189,116. It carried in all but one of the 21 counties. It is a relatively brief state constitution, with 10,500 words, but is longer than the 1844 document which it replaces, which contained only 6,276 words. Most of the features of the new constitution take effect January 1, 1948, but the revised state court system does not become operative until September 15.

On the same day Kentucky voted against the holding of a convention to draft a new constitution for the state.

New York State Approves Amendments

Six constitutional amendments were approved by the voters of New York State on November 4. A bond issue and tax plan for a soldiers' bonus carried by nearly three to one, as did also amendments giving the legislature power to increase its salaries over the existing constitutional limit of \$2,500; providing for a method of removing judges deemed unfit for judicial office by a newly created Court of the Judiciary; and giving authority for certain ski trails in the state forest preserve, protected by the constitution. An amendment extending absentee voting privileges carried by over four to one, while one establishing a new judicial district on Long Island was adopted by a narrow margin.

Three propositions increasing state

aid for public housing were also approved by votes of about five to two.

Stamford Consolidation Wins in Fourth Try

The overlapping city and town (township) of Stamford, Connecticut, will finally be consolidated into a city as a result of a vote of 10,101 to 7,455 on November 4, the fourth time in 46 years that such a proposition has been voted on. Residents of the city, comprising fourteen out of twenty districts, cast a vote of 9,646 to 2,215 for consolidation, while the districts outside the city voted against it, 5,240 to 456. City residents now pay both town and city taxes, and stand to save about 4.3 mills by consolidation, while the taxes of the outlying districts will be increased, although not to the level of the other districts.

The new government, which is to be elected in April 1949, will consist of a salaried mayor and 40 non-salaried representatives, two from each district.

Denver Voters Reject Proposed Charter

In a surprising upset, the new strong-mayor charter submitted to the voters of Denver by the charter convention was defeated in the November 13 special election by a 32,532 to 26,516 vote. However, the law requires that another charter convention be called within 30 days and, according to present legal interpretation, this process must continue until Denver electors accept a charter proposal. Approximately \$125,000 will be necessary to pay for each charter convention.

Mayor Quigg Newton strongly urged adoption of the proposed charter. Although as recently as last spring 78,000 Denverites elected Mayor Newton, only one-third of this number were

willing to accept his recommendation that the proposed charter be adopted. The charter was also endorsed by both daily newspapers and an imposing array of civic agencies, including business groups, labor unions and religious and educational organizations. No important civic agency actively opposed adoption.

Yet the charter did meet effective opposition. Representatives of a few Denver interests established a rallying point for others who for various reasons wished to see the charter defeated. Some of the former officeholders, employees and friends of the preceding city administration evidenced determined opposition to the new charter. The elected city auditor and the city librarian, both men of high standing, denounced the charter proposal, especially as it related to their respective positions.

The proposed charter simplified the administrative organization and approximately doubled the salaries of the mayor and major department heads. It established a department of personnel which covered all employees in a merit system—previous coverage had been limited to police and firemen. Budget and utility divisions, now lacking, were set up. The library was brought closer within the city administration and the auditor's office was directed to concentrate on post-auditing.

One proposal now is that the city government go into court and seek a declaratory judgment which, in effect, would remove the necessity for holding another charter convention and keep the present charter. If this is not done, another round must begin in the complicated procedure for developing a new charter. Only the courts may alter this second course.

TROY R. WESTMEYER
University of Denver

Interim Committee Revises California Constitution

The Joint Interim Committee on Legislative Constitutional Revision, invested with far-reaching powers by the California legislature, is at work on constitutional revision. It consists of twenty members, with an advisory committee of citizens. Chairman Alfred W. Robertson, Santa Barbara assemblyman, announced that ten subcommittees will undertake the detailed study of the constitution by subjects. It is expected that the legislature, upon accepting the recommendations of the committee, will submit a new constitution or set of amendments directly to the voters.

Michigan Minimizes Legislative Rush

Michigan has made a legislative discovery. By adoption of a simple rule the torrential end-of-the-session rush has subsided to the proportions of a rapid but wholly manageable legislative stream. This accomplishment did not come about by limiting the time for filing of bills.

Rule number 20 of the *Joint Rules of the Michigan Senate and House of Representatives* covers the matter of final adjournment. According to this rule a motion is made by the respective chairmen of the standing committees of the Senate and House of Representatives providing by concurrent resolution for adjournment of the session but without a date for adjournment. The action is taken no later than twelve weeks after the convening of a regular session.

Upon adoption of the resolution the session is immediately limited to 21 calendar days, and all bills must be passed by the house in which they originate or they are dead. This crowds the calendar somewhat in both houses because bills are, of course, slow to be reported out of committee.

In the three days following adoption of the resolution committees must report out all bills received from the opposite house and referred to them. The time is short, but all other work is suspended. Surprisingly enough little complaint has been made about lack of time to review the proposals of the other house. After that neither house can receive any bills except those containing appropriations or levying taxes.

On the nineteenth day following adoption of the adjournment resolution the business on the floor of both houses is suspended for two days which are set aside for conference committees. As the 1947 session turned out, however, little had been done by conference committees when the final session convened and 26 measures had to be considered on the last day. Although this number of conferences was far too large, it was much less than usual.

A smaller quantity of legislation had to be considered on the last day of the session than in previous sessions. The reduced quantity of legislation for final passage permitted more thorough consideration of measures.

JOHN A. PERKINS, Budget Director
State of Michigan

Cities Seek Smoke Elimination

Several major cities have been intensifying efforts for effective smoke control, including Pittsburgh, Akron, Chicago, Detroit, and Salt Lake City, according to the American Public Works Association.

Pittsburgh's anti-smoke drive is aimed particularly at residences and has a unique feature in prohibiting any local fuel dealer from delivering smoke-producing coal to places not equipped with smoke-eliminating devices. The Pittsburgh smoke-control ordinance was adopted in 1941 but its full application was delayed by the war. On

October 1 this year it was extended to cover 142,000 coal-burning private homes in the city. Smoke from all buildings, railroads and factories is also regulated under the ordinance. A countywide program is in the making.¹

Akron, meanwhile, passed a comprehensive smoke-control ordinance which regulates soot, dust and poisonous fumes, and provides for inspection and licensing of all fuel-burning equipment. Violators of any section of the new law may be fined up to \$100 for each day's offense.

In Detroit the municipal law department recently held that the city may buy and sell fuel to its residents if coal producers withhold fuel from the market. After passage of Detroit's smoke-abatement law, some coal dealers threatened to keep their product off the market in protest against stringent regulation. More than 30 cities in the Detroit area are cooperating on anti-smoke plans.

Library Facilities of 49 Cities under Study

The Public Library Inquiry, conducted by the Social Science Research Council and financed by a grant of \$175,000 from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, is making a comprehensive survey of the adequacy of the public library as a source of citizen information, and an analysis of its actual and potential contribution to American society.

Twenty-three research projects are being undertaken involving 49 representative American communities, ranging from metropolitan to rural, and covering all aspects of the library as an institution for community enlightenment. Dr. Robert D. Leigh is director of the inquiry.

Federal Commission Studies Executive Organization

The Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government is now assembling the necessary staff and mapping plans for studies which will support its report to Congress, to be made in January 1949.

This twelve-member commission was created by unanimous vote of Congress last summer, with authority to study the problem of executive reorganization and report its findings and recommendations to Congress. It is a bipartisan commission of private citizens, members of Congress and representatives of the executive branch.

The power to appoint members of the commission was divided equally between the president of the United States, the president pro tempore of the Senate, and the speaker of the House of Representatives, with each of these officials naming two private citizens and two public officials. The president was required to choose two officials from the executive branch, the president pro tempore two senators, and the speaker two representatives. Each appointing authority was restrained from naming more than half of his appointees from a single major political party, so that there would be an equal division of Democrats and Republicans on the commission. Any vacancies which may occur are to be filled in the same manner in which the original appointments were made.

Congress gave the commission broad authority to investigate and make recommendations concerning the limitation of expenditures, elimination of duplication and overlapping of functions, consolidation of functions of a similar nature, abolition of unnecessary functions, and the definition of executive functions. It has power to hold hearings and take testimony, and is authorized to secure all needed infor-

¹See the REVIEW, November 1947, page 558.

mation from executive agencies. The commission has power to appoint and fix the compensation of members of its staff, and an initial appropriation of \$750,000 has been made for carrying on its operations.

As members of the commission, President Truman appointed from private life Dean Acheson and George Mead, and from the executive branch James A. Forrestal and Arthur S. Flemming. Senator Vandenberg chose as private members James K. Pollock and Joseph P. Kennedy, and from the Senate George D. Aiken and John L. McClellan. The choices of Speaker Martin were Herbert Hoover and James Rowe from private life, and Clarence J. Brown and Carter Manasco from the House of Representatives. At its first meeting, held at the White House on September 29, 1947, the commission elected Mr. Hoover as chairman and Mr. Acheson as vice chairman.

As provided in the act, the commission will automatically cease to exist 90 days after its report is submitted to the 81st Congress.

FERREL HEADY

University of Michigan

Civil Service Draws More Veterans

Employment of veterans by federal, state and local governments has increased substantially over a year ago despite large reduction in federal employment, according to the Civil Service Assembly.

Veterans preference laws are an important factor in the increase. Florida is the most recent addition to the list of states providing veterans preference in the hiring of public employees. The new Florida law applies to all cities having civil service programs, and provides that honorably discharged veter-

ans be given five points preference, to be added to passing grades on civil service examinations. Preference of ten points is given to disabled veterans, wives of disabled veterans, and widows of deceased veterans.

In federal employment there are 360,000 more veterans in civil service than there were two years ago despite the fact that postwar personnel cutbacks have reduced the total number of federal employees more than a million during that period. There are now well over 800,000 ex-GI's in federal civil service.

In state and local governments, some 400,000 civil servants have been added to payrolls in the past year. Because of veterans preference legislation a large part of this increase is composed of ex-servicemen and women.

Employees' Union Fosters Public Servants Week

The board of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL, meeting at its headquarters in Madison, Wisconsin, on October 29, tentatively chose the week of June 7, 1948, as Public Servants Week, to direct public attention toward methods of providing better and more efficient service to the public by state, county and municipal employees.

The federation will invite other interested groups in the United States and Canada to cooperate in making Public Servants Week a success. Days will be set aside for special services, such as safety and law enforcement, education, sanitation, conservation, public works, and health and welfare. Among the stated purposes of the move are: serving the public better, saving money for the taxpayers through increased productivity, recognizing merit and fitness in public employment, and achieving reforms in public administration.

Many Local and State Problems Reviewed

Planning and Zoning Receive Attention

THE Municipal League of Seattle's

City Planning Committee has made a study of planning programs in fifteen American cities and some of its findings are discussed in the *Seattle Municipal News*. Among the problems involved are those of outside consultants, the limits of planning activities, the precedence of a master plan, the selection of a planning staff, and the stimulation of citizen interest.

"If the core decays, the apple will rot" is the title of the first in a series of issues of *Citizens' Business*, Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, Robert K. Sawyer, director, to be devoted to the metropolitan area problem. Shifting population in the Philadelphia area "calls for cooperative regional planning by the interdependent governmental units." The second of the series deals with "Bursting Political Boundaries."

Another issue of *Citizens' Business* discusses the Better Philadelphia Exhibition and the coordinated efforts and planning needed for a better Philadelphia.

Piecemeal Zoning—Its Place in Zoning Law and Procedure, by John Reys, issued by the Springfield (Ohio) Chamber of Commerce, "seeks to open a relatively new line of inquiry into a particular method of zoning application . . . for which the future possibilities have been little understood."

The *Zoning Bulletin* of the Regional Plan Association, New York, Frank B. Williams, editor, discusses "Discretion

in Zoning Administration," saying that discretion is essential to the success and legal validity of zoning.

A supplement to *The Borough Bulletin*, contributed by the Pennsylvania Government Administration Service, H. F. Alderfer, executive secretary, comments on the zoning problems raised by the designation of a new memorial highway.

Health, Recreation and Welfare Services

The present health facilities of Arkansas as well as a long term plan for adequate health and hospital services are covered in a study by James W. Coddington, Helen M. Robinson and Mary T. Wright. This comprehensive 38-page work, *Hospital and Health Services in Arkansas*, is issued by the University of Arkansas Bureau of Research, C. O. Brannen, director.

The Wisconsin Recreation Association, E. P. Hartl, president, has issued *Suggestions for Promoting and Organizing a Recreation Program for a Small Community*. Financing, personnel, and promotion are discussed.

The bulletin of the San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research, Alfred F. Smith, director, devotes an issue to the proposed consolidation of the park and recreation commissions and a proposed \$12,000,000 bond issue to finance an increased public recreation program in San Francisco.

Your Government, bulletin of the Bureau of Government Research, University of Kansas, Ethan P. Allen, director, was devoted recently to "Social Welfare in Kansas." The history of the social welfare program is outlined; the principles, administration, and cost of this program are reviewed.

The responsibilities of the state for auditing local welfare relief and publicity practices of the state government are discussed in summer numbers of the *Pulliam Albany Letter*, **Citizens Bureau of Governmental Research of New York State**, Abbett Pulliam, executive vice president.

Just a Moment, published by the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau**, reviews the history of the Buffalo Public Libraries.

Municipal Functions and Efficiency

The **Bureau of Governmental Research of New Orleans**, Lennox L. Moak, director, has issued a *Report on Police Developments in New Orleans 1946-47* by Bruce Smith. "The purpose of this report is to describe . . . the various changes effected in the structure and administration of the New Orleans police department."

A resume of studies on maintenance of sheet asphalt streets in Baltimore and other cities during 1947 is the subject of a recent number of *Your Tax Dollar*, issued by the **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy**.

Parking Meters in Pennsylvania Municipalities is the title of a recent pamphlet by Charles F. LeeDecker, assistant executive secretary of the **Pennsylvania State College Institute of Local Government**, published by the institute. Using many tables, Mr. LeeDecker examines the parking problem, the use of parking meters, parking meter receipts, parking meter operation and legal aspects of parking meters.

Part IV, dealing with the transportation service, has been published by the **Los Angeles Bureau of Budget and Efficiency**—an official branch of the

city government, Francis M. Cummings, director, in its series of reports on the organization, administration and management of administrative services of Los Angeles. Fifteen recommendations are made, beginning with the suggestion that control over the management and operation of the city's automobile fleet be centralized in three units, under the jurisdictions of the police department, the fire department, and the city hall garage. Extensive tables are included in the appendices.

The number of city employees of St. Louis has increased from 11,123 in February 1939 to 11,493 in September 1947, the **Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis**, Victor D. Brannon, director, points out in its *Dollars and Sense in Government*. A complete table of the number of city employees in both years and at two intervening times is included.

The government of Atlanta is examined in a sketch by J. Forsythe Gordy of the **Governmental Research Bureau of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce**. Mr. Gordy makes no specific recommendations, but he does advocate a revision of the charter of the city, saying that the present Atlanta government is "not up to date" and should be more efficient and economical.

Flood control and airport leases in Des Moines are discussed in a bulletin from the **Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research**, Glenn N. Hoffman, secretary.

Three issues of *Citizens' Business*, published by the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research**, Robert K. Sawyer, director, discuss the smoke abatement program in Philadelphia and the progress of public improvements there in general.

Legislation and Other State Responsibilities

The **Bureau of Municipal Research of the University of Texas**, Stuart A. MacCorkle, director, and the **League of Texas Municipalities**, E. E. McAdams, executive director, have published jointly a 156-page classified compilation of general laws affecting cities passed by the 1947 Texas legislature.

The **Kansas Legislative Council**, Frederic Guild, director of research, has issued a report on its September quarterly meeting, containing especially summaries of its activity and reports in relation to agriculture and livestock; assessment and taxation; education; federal, state and local government; the judiciary; labor and industries; the legislative budget; public welfare and roads and highways.

Another report by the research department of the council concerns *School District Reorganization*. It summarizes activity under the school reorganization laws of 1945 and 1947; the number of common school districts in Kansas as of March 1, 1945, and March 1, 1947; and the percentage of county area reorganized.

The **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California** (Berkeley), Samuel C. May, director, has put out a comprehensive study of selected aspects of industrial disputes, prepared by Louise A. Fietz. The report covers seven main aspects of the problem: state and federal responsibility for settlement of industrial disputes; work stoppages in California, 1940-1946; work stoppages in California and other states, 1940 and 1945; results of work stoppages; schools of industrial relations; state intervention in industrial disputes; and the Swedish method of handling disputes.

Notes and References, publication of the **Governmental Research Association**, G. Gordon Tegnell, secretary, con-

tains a resume of a speech before the G. R. A. annual conference by Austin J. Tobin, executive director of the Port of New York Authority. Mr. Tobin traces the history of the authority and explains how it can undertake capital improvement projects without further burdening the general taxpayers of the cities and the two states concerned.

Tax Outlook of the Tax Foundation, William Allison, editor, surveys the veterans' bonus situation in all the states, pointing out that the gross debt figures of states which have paid, or are planning, bonuses are soaring.

A Great Deal About Taxes

A Survey of Florida Tax Conditions, with Recommendations for Improvement, (164 pages) has been published by the **Florida Taxpayers Association**, Robert L. Newman, executive secretary. The book is divided into five main headings: review of recent studies and legislative action for improvement in Florida tax assessments and administration; summary of the Florida fiscal situation; ad valorem taxation, valuations, assessments and administration; need for modernization in state and local government; and state administrative organization. The report advocates administrative reorganization; constitutional revision as exemplified in the field of taxation, local government and the courts; a state tax commission within the department of revenue, the chairman to be director of revenue; a law establishing centralized purchasing; and a law for a comprehensive merit system for state personnel. An extensive statistical appendix is included.

The trend of state tax legislation in 1947 is discussed in *News and Views—Your State and Local Government* by the **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council**, Carter W. Atkins, director.

Citizen Action Edited by Elsie S. Parker

Massachusetts Charter Campaigns Succeed

Civic Groups Secure Manager Plan and P. R.

PLAN E charters — council-manager with proportional representation for council and school board—were adopted at the November 4 election by four Massachusetts cities and defeated by voters in two others. Cities to adopt the charter were Worcester, Quincy, Medford and Revere. Plan E was turned down in Fitchburg and Pittsfield. Majorities for Plan E ranged from about two to one in Worcester to more than six to one in Revere.¹

A most intensive campaign for and against Plan E was waged in Worcester, where nationally prominent speakers on both sides of the issue were heard. Opponents, mostly local politicians, centered their attack on P. R., while the **Citizens' Plan E Committee** stressed the advantages of the charter and explained P. R. They called upon voters to replace the century-old bicameral, partisan, ward-elected city council of 41 members, second in size only to that of Chicago, with the modern Plan E and its council of nine. Worcester celebrates the hundredth anniversary of its incorporation as a city in 1948. It will enter the new century by throwing out one of the most antiquated charters in the country in favor of the most up-to-date.

The Plan E Committee was headed by Timothy F. Daley as chairman. Other officers included Mrs. Frank H. Schopfer of the League of Women Voters, vice-chairman; Robert B. Ser-

vice, Jr., treasurer; Mrs. L. A. Hallock and Mrs. Service of the League of Women Voters; Professor Albert E. Bailey, who directed the campaign to place the question on the ballot; Professor Charles A. Grant of Holy Cross College, and many others. The campaign was a "grass-roots" one conducted by a nonpartisan cross-section of the city's voters, and opponents were baffled by absence of so-called "big shots" at whom to level a finger.

Mrs. Service, as chairman of the speakers' bureau, directed a corps of 27 speakers who made 175 addresses to groups throughout the city. Five-minute radio speeches twice a day were made over two stations the last week of the campaign.

Extensive newspaper advertising was used, one series the final week explaining what Plan E would mean to the voter, the parent, the citizen, the home owner and the city employee. One amusing development in the campaign was that, while opponents hammered at P. R. as communistic, the local Communist party denounced Plan E and circularized industrial workers urging its defeat.

Plan E was endorsed editorially by the *Worcester Telegram and Evening Gazette*, the city's daily papers, and liberal news space was given to both sides. WTAG, owned by the newspapers, donated a full hour the Sunday noon before election to both sides on Plan E and three other referenda. The **Worcester Taxpayers Association**, although taking no direct part in the campaign, answered many requests for facts and statistical data. Of tremendous assistance were facts and suggestions from the National Municipal League.

¹For exact votes see page 631 this issue.

The Plan E campaign in Quincy was the third in that city, the charter having been defeated by 5,400 votes in 1938 and by 8,300 in 1940. This year the plan was endorsed by the **League of Women Voters** and by the *Quincy Patriot-Ledger*, which ran a series of eight articles explaining it. The **Quincy Taxpayers Association**, William M. Edmonston, executive secretary, filed the petition for the referendum. The only organized opposition came from a so-called Anti-Communist League, headed by a city employee, which tried vainly to stem the tide by extensive radio and advertising efforts at the last minute. Plan E carried 31 out of 32 precincts to roll up its 9,442 majority, better than two to one.

Medford Victory

Medford adopted Plan E by nearly four to one. There was no organized opposition and the **Plan E Charter Organization**, Ray F. Henderson, secretary, did not need to be very active, holding only one meeting addressed by a Cambridge councilman and Frederick Willis, speaker of the Massachusetts House, on the functions of a city manager. The Medford press took no stand except that a weekly paper owned by an alderman expressed fear of communistic infiltration under P. R.

Revere voters give Plan E a smashing six-to-one majority. A rise from \$41 to \$51.80 in the tax rate since 1945 and dissatisfaction with political control of city hall played a large part in the vote. The **Revere Committee for Plan E**, headed by Gerald Woodland, with chairmen in each ward, conducted a house-to-house campaign along with open forums, radio speeches and newspaper publicity. The committee spent \$871, mostly for publicity. There was no organized opposition. The *Revere Journal* favored Plan E as did the runner-up mayoralty candidate. The mayor-elect was neutral.

In Fitchburg, Plan E was defeated largely because of the opposition of the major local political party. The Plan E campaign started several months ago but was concentrated largely in the final two weeks, with newspaper advertisements, radio talks, and speeches before many local clubs. The **Fitchburg Committee for Plan E**, Tuure Tenander, chairman, sponsored one large rally and the issue was discussed at the Community Forum the Sunday before election. Circulars were distributed to homes a week before election. Opponents succeeded in confusing the issue through a newspaper and radio campaign aimed at P. R. as communistic, a breeder of race prejudice and un-American. Proponents were put on the defensive and were not strong enough to reverse the trend.

Denunciation of Plan E from the pulpits of the nine Catholic churches in Pittsfield the Sunday before election played a major part in its defeat there. This was purely a local development as no such thing occurred in Worcester or Fitchburg, which are also in the Springfield diocese. Part of the criticism was levied at failure of proponents to explain Plan E satisfactorily. Secretary Philip C. Ahern of the **Pittsfield Taxpayers Association** criticised the clergy for using the pulpit to speak on the issue instead of taking a stand as citizens but also criticized the weakness of the Plan E campaign. He said the campaign "was running on only one cylinder" and that women worked hard but received little help from the men of the city.

In summary, it can be said that the success of Plan E in Cambridge and Lowell greatly influenced voters in other cities which see their taxes soaring. Many regarded any change as one for the better. The voters in the four successful cities refused to be misled by the communist bogie.

Already civic groups in other cities,

including Boston, have been encouraged to revive or start Plan E campaigns and it is certain that the issue will be before the voters in many other Massachusetts cities in 1949. Meanwhile, the Plan E committees in Worcester and other cities are strengthening their forces, determined to get the system off to a good start at the first election in 1949.

JOHN H. MAHONEY, *Director*
Worcester Taxpayers Association

Another Golden Anniversary Celebrated

The **Citizens Union of New York City**, George H. Hallett, Jr., secretary, celebrated on November 24 its fiftieth anniversary. The foundation of the union in 1897 came just before the organization of Greater New York by union of Manhattan with Brooklyn, Staten Island and Queens County. One reform administration in Manhattan under Mayor Strong, with Theodore Roosevelt as head of the police and Colonel Waring cleaning the streets with his new "whitewings," had given old New York a taste of good government, but the first election brought in the notorious Tammany regime of Van Wyck.

The Citizens Union was started with a manifesto signed by 165 eminent citizens such as: Elihu Root, James Speyer, Jacob H. Schiff, Spencer Trask, Nicholas Murray Butler and R. Fulton Cutting, who became the first chairman of the union. Two of the signers are now living, Nicholas Murray Butler and Charles H. Strong. The Citizens Union started as a political party, nominated Seth Low, president of Columbia and former mayor of Brooklyn, and in the voting outran the Republican party, which refused fusion. In the next election fusion was accomplished, the Citizens Union still pro-

viding the larger proportion of the votes, and Seth Low was elected.

In 1908, finding that the union was being joined by political characters who were intent on acquiring personal political power rather than furthering the high-minded objectives of the union, its officers changed its structure, vesting its internal government in a self-renewing city committee, with an inner executive committee elected by the former. Thus it became a civic organization safe from invasion and from change of character. In subsequent years it sometimes nominated candidates, but in recent times has, by its *Voters' Directory*, published discriminating reviews of candidates for all the minor offices, including the legislative delegation.

Its executive committee, under R. Fulton Cutting, followed by William Jay Schieffelin and now by Richard S. Childs, as chairmen, carries on a tradition of weekly meetings by civic veterans which it inherited from the older City Reform Club. The latter, organized in the early 1880's, began as a weekly meeting of fourteen persons who equipped themselves to study public affairs in the city and keep track of current events so as to be prepared to alert the press and public.

Speakers included Mayor of New York William O'Dwyer; Mme. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, chairman of the India delegation to the United Nations; and Dr. William Jay Schieffelin, chairman emeritus of the Citizens Union; Mr. Childs presided.

Reminiscences at the banquet brought out the work of numerous local heroes of political reform whose work had proved permanent and valuable in cutting away the sources of power of political machines. Among those cited were: Charles E. Hughes (public service commissions which

stopped the shake-down of utility corporations for partisan benefit); H. Eliot Kaplan (civil service reform); Albert S. Bard (election laws and honest counts); Edward R. Finch (signature law, which eliminated floaters and repeaters at the polls); Julius Henry Cohen and Joseph O. Hammitt (who developed the union's legislative committee to a high point in combatting special legislative bills and interference with home rule); Robert S. Binkerd and Laurence A. Tanzer (who put through municipal home rule); George Hallett (who secured the city's ten-year trial of proportional representation for the council, which gave the city its first respectable legislative body in a hundred years and broke the tradition of incompetence in that branch of the city government; Hallett was also cited as key man in securing abolition of county government in New York State, replaced by sheriffs and county clerks chosen by civil service examinations); and Leonard Wallstein (abolition of the elective coroners).

RICHARD S. CHILDS

Hartford Charterites Win Victory at Polls

The **Citizens Charter Committee of Hartford, Connecticut**, has just won a notable victory for good government at the polls. Voters at the November election gave its six candidates for the new council which will inaugurate the manager plan an overwhelming vote of confidence. Except for one Democratic candidate who ran second on the list of winners, charter committee candidates headed the list of nine councilmen elected. A similar victory was scored at the October 14 primaries when all candidates on the charter committee slate were among those placed in nomination.

Organized originally as a temporary citizen group to secure adoption of a

council-manager charter for Hartford, charter committee members came to the conclusion that in order to secure good government under the new charter a continuing organization was needed to elect candidates sympathetic to the charter's ideals and to 'act as a watch-dog over the city's administration.¹

"Hartford showed yesterday that its heart is still in the same place as a year ago [council-manager charter was adopted December 3, 1946]," says the *Hartford Courant* in its editorial, "A Citizens' Victory." "Election of all six of the Citizens' Charter Committee candidates to the new council makes it as certain as it can be that the dream of business-like, nonpartisan government will become reality. The campaign burned brightly with oratory, false charges that reform was bossism, a sorry attempt by the Democratic party to save the day for partisanship and other confusions and alarms. But the aroused, independent citizens of Hartford showed their good sense, and won again as they did last year in adopting the charter. . . . Today begins a new era in Hartford's 311-year history. Now that the citizens are at last on top it is up to them, through eternal vigilance in the years ahead, to stay there."

Apropos of the Elections

Reports of some civic groups on election activities arrived too late for inclusion in last month's Citizen Action columns.

Voters directories, dealing with both candidates and issues, have been published by the **Citizens Union of New York City**, **Civic Club of Allegheny County** and the **Allegheny County**

¹See "Campaign Groups Plan Permanent Organizations," the REVIEW, July 1947, page 403.

League of Women Voters (joint directory), the **Citizens League of Cleveland**, and the **Detroit Citizens League**.

The **Toledo League of Women Voters** and the **Municipal League of Toledo** united in securing and publishing information on city council, board of education and judicial candidates. The League of Women Voters sent a questionnaire to all candidates, asking five pertinent questions on such matters as the city's P. R.-manager charter, the payroll tax now in force in Toledo, organization and functions of the city council, etc. Replies of candidates, with biographies, appear in the *Toledo Municipal News*. Sample ballots are reproduced on the front page of the same issue. Another number of the *News* explains the Hare system of P. R., used in Toledo councilmanic elections, in simple terms. It also gives the legislative record of the nine incumbent councilmen during their present term showing that in 1946 only fifteen ordinances out of 482 were not passed unanimously; in 1947, up to October 1, only fourteen out of 510 ordinances adopted failed to receive a unanimous vote.

"The Fourth of November Is the Day to Remember," was the apt slogan of the **Hamilton County (Cincinnati) Good Government League**, Nancy J. Bushnell, executive secretary. The October issue of its publication, *Good Government*, advertised a meeting the Saturday previous to election day at which Hon. Murray Seasongood, an originator of Cincinnati's council-manager-P. R. charter and first mayor under it, spoke on election issues. Much of the bulletin is devoted to support of P. R., on which a referendum was scheduled.¹

The **Civic Federation of Chicago**, Harland C. Stockwell, executive secretary, the **Chicago Citizens Association**,

Edward M. Martin, executive secretary, and the **Chicago City Club**, William H. Haight, president, have made recommendations to members on propositions on the November 4 ballot.

The **Chambers of Commerce of Auburn, California**, and **Warren, Ohio**, both urged members to register and to acquaint themselves with the merits of candidates and propositions on the ballot, to insure an intelligent vote.

Civitan Prize Winner

The 1946-47 essay contest on citizenship sponsored by **Civitan International** has been won by Lyla Tilston, a graduate of the Glendale, California, High School, for her paper, "Duties and Privileges of a Citizen." A four-year scholarship is her prize.

* * *

Strictly Personal

George F. Oakes, prime mover in the organization of the Plan E for Boston Committee, and its president since its inception two years ago, has resigned because of doctor's orders to curtail outside activities.

The *Christian Science Monitor*, in its editorial column, "This Week's Appreciation," commends Mr. Oakes for his "civic attitude and enthusiasm." "What is unusual," says the editorial, citing Mr. Oakes' dissatisfaction with Boston's municipal government, "is that he has done all he could about the situation. Without compensation he has headed the Plan E for Boston Committee for the past two years, giving hundreds of his free hours and evenings working and speaking for more efficient government."

The Toledo Municipal League announces that **Betty Larsen**, formerly editor of the *Michigan Daily* and reporter for the *Toledo Blade* and *Toledo Times*, has joined its staff. Miss Larsen will serve as editor of the league's monthly *Toledo Municipal News*.

¹See page 646 this issue.

Proportional Representation

*Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Four Adoptions, Three Repeals

P. R. Voted Out in New York Is Sustained in Cincinnati

IN TEN referenda on November 4 four cities adopted proportional representation, three cities repealed it, one voted to retain it and two voted to remain without it.

Highlights of this momentous day in the annals of P. R. were repeal of P. R. in New York and its retention in Cincinnati. P. R. was adopted along with the manager plan in Worcester, Quincy, Medford and Revere, Massachusetts, making Massachusetts the banner P. R. state, but was turned down in Pittsfield and Fitchburg. P. R. was repealed in Long Beach, New York, and Boulder, Colorado.

Four Massachusetts Cities Adopt Plan E

Six cities in Massachusetts voted November 4 on proposals for adoption of what is known under state legislation as the "Plan E" form of city government, which features a nine-man city council elected at large by proportional representation and a city manager chosen by and responsible to the council. The plan also provides for P. R. election of school committee members. In two additional localities referenda on adoption of Plan E were projected, but did not get on the ballot; petitions were filed late in Somerville and contained insufficient signatures in Newton. Cambridge and Lowell already operate under P. R. charters and the town of Saugus adopted it under

special enabling legislation earlier in the year.

The recent referendum results, tabulated in the order of the total vote, are as follows:

	1940	For	Against
City	Population	Plan E	Plan E
Worcester	193,694	42,179	22,154
Quincy	75,810	17,187	7,745
Medford	63,083	15,830	4,467
Revere	34,405	13,931	2,059
Pittsfield	49,684	4,229	7,176
Fitchburg	41,824	5,715	9,476

An account of the adoption campaigns will be found on page 641.

In view of the three P. R. repeals and the recent discontinuance of the T.V.A. town of Norris, Tennessee, as a separate organized community, the state of Massachusetts now has just more than half of the P. R. communities in the country. The others are Cincinnati, Toledo and Hamilton, Ohio; Yonkers, New York; Wheeling, West Virginia, and Coos Bay, Oregon.

Cincinnati Meets a Crisis

Voters of Cincinnati, in the largest vote ever cast on a municipal issue, November 4 reaffirmed their support of proportional representation as a method of electing members of the city council. The official vote was 73,638 for an amendment abolishing P. R., and 81,365 against—that is, supporting P. R.

The test was the third in Cincinnati's 22 years of P. R. history. Previous repealers in 1936 and 1939, however, had been submitted in May and June, respectively. The 1947 vote was the first test of P. R. at a general election since its adoption in 1924.

The margin of victory this year was considerably greater than in either 1936 or 1939. P. R. was sustained in 1936 by 831 votes, in 1939 by 742 votes. This year's margin was 7,727.

The larger margin of victory was achieved in the face of the most disadvantageous conditions friends of P. R. in Cincinnati have yet had to battle. For one thing, the issue was merely one item on a ballot which in turn was but one of six ballots voted on. In addition, seven other questions and issues submitted at the same time—among them, a \$300,000,000 soldiers' bonus proposal—received majorities ranging from 64 per cent to 75 per cent of the vote cast.

Adding to the difficulties of the campaign was an all-out newspaper attack launched by the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, which openly avowed its determination to get rid of P. R. in Cincinnati. The *Enquirer* campaign was carefully synchronized with the offensive conducted by the old political machine which opposed P. R. in 1924, and has continuously fought against it since.

The campaign was shrewdly timed to link P. R. with Communist infiltration. The "red" menace was portrayed in a steady crescendo of front-page news articles, newspaper and billboard advertising, street car cards, posters, placards, leaflets, book matches, personal letters and radio spot announcements.

Civic Group Defends P. R.

Defense of P. R. was spearheaded by the City Charter Committee, its original sponsor and its defender in the two previous tests of 1936 and 1939. The committee fortunately received strong support from the *Cincinnati Post*, and its popular columnist, Alfred E. Segal, as well as from such weekly publications as the *Catholic Telegraph-Register*, the *Sun* and the *Chronicle*—Cincinnati's two labor

papers, and the *Western Hills Press*. In addition, the Democratic Campaign Committee, Greater Cincinnati Industrialists Union Council, Central Labor Council, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Independent Progressive Voters League, Progressive Citizens Committee, League of Women Voters, Cincinnati Association, Queen City Association, and the Civic Club either lent active assistance, or went on record opposing the repealer.

Friends of P. R. stressed four major points:

(1) Under P. R. a majority of voters elect a majority of the council;

(2) The substitute proposed in place of P. R. would allow a political machine with less than half the votes to elect the entire council;

(3) P. R. insures representation to substantial minority groups;

(4) Under P. R. Cincinnati has had better councilmen and better government than ever before in its history.

Charter and independent candidates for council centered much of their campaign fire on the repealer. Candidates of the Republican organization, latter day descendants of Cincinnati's infamous Cox-Hynicka machine, on the other hand, carried the attack against P. R. and received the overwhelming endorsements of the *Enquirer* and the *Times-Star*.

Despite its relative lack of newspaper support, the charter council ticket, led by Charles P. Taft, charter committee president, and Albert D. Cash, charter floor leader in council, gained a majority, and political observers attribute their victory largely to the P. R. attack and their militant defense against it. Elected with Cash and Taft, to form the first charter majority on the council since 1935, were Rollin H. Everett and Edward N.

Waldvogel, incumbents, and Harry D. Proctor, A. F. of L. labor candidate. The four other seats in council were awarded to four Republican organization incumbents—Carl W. Rich, Jesse D. Locker, Gordon H. Scherer and John M. Molloy.

Real significance of the P. R. victory will appear only in time. However, the chairman of the Republican organization (anti-P.R.) forces declared the day after election that it will be many years before P. R. is attacked again in Cincinnati.

Cincinnati now has faced the question of abolishing P. R. in three different kinds of elections: primary, special and general. Each time the largest vote ever recorded in Cincinnati for that kind of election has turned out. Each time P. R. has been upheld. The results speak for themselves.

FOREST FRANK

Cincinnati City Charter Committee

New York Voters Repeal P. R.

The vote for repeal of P. R. in New York was 935,276 to 586,151. The proportion of votes in favor of repeal was highest in Richmond and Queens and lowest in the Bronx, but there was a substantial margin in favor of repeal in each borough.

Most important factor in the campaign was the unpopularity of the Communist and American Labor parties—the latter being charged with having policies parallel to the former—each of which elected two councilmen at the last city election in 1945. These parties, at a time when the international atmosphere was very different from today's, cast 18 per cent of the first-choice votes in the city and elected 17½ per cent of the council. On the strength of this representation

organization politicians of the majority (Democratic) party, who launched the attack on P. R. for quite other reasons, were able to persuade a majority of the newspapers and the people that they were voting on the foreign policy of the Kremlin instead of a feature of city government in New York.

P. R. was vigorously supported not only by the minor parties but by the principal civic organizations and leaders of the city, including the city's largest business organization, the Commerce and Industry Association, the League of Women Voters, Citizens Union, United Neighborhood Houses and Women's City Club, and by a large part of the labor movement, particularly the C.I.O. unions, the I.L.G.W.U. and the Millinery Workers' Union, and by the Americans for Democratic Action and the Progressive Citizens of America. Veterans' organizations were divided, the Amvets supporting P. R. and most of the American Legion and V.F.W. opposing it.

Councils Improved

Hardly anyone claimed that the P. R. council is not, in its actual operation, an improvement over the district-elected board of aldermen which it succeeded. Judge Samuel Seabury, in a two-column letter published November 1 in answer to four adverse editorials in the *New York Times*, pointed out that "more and more the council has been tackling issues of major import, and just this year has dealt constructively with evictions, rent control, abuses in garages and parking spaces, and fire hazards in apartment hotels and dormitories." But the record of the council and the demonstrated fairness of P. R. in its elections were swept aside by a desire to deny representation to anyone friendly to Soviet Russia.

The new plan of electing one councilman from each state senatorial district may deprive not only the left wing elements of their share of representation, but also the new Liberal party and the rather small Republican following, which elected three councilmen in 1945 on the strength of a vote which was less than the American Labor and Communist total not only for council but for borough presidents on the voting machines. Mayor O'Dwyer and the Democratic party carried every senate district in the city at the 1945 municipal election. Another good indication of what may be expected from district elections was given this year when no one was elected to any office anywhere in the city unless he was on the Democratic ticket. Nevertheless, the Republican organization leaders were somehow persuaded to go along with the Democrats for repeal of P. R.

Newspaper Support

The general import of the vote was summarized editorially by the *New York Herald Tribune* on November 5:

The combination of the good people of the city who dislike Communists and the self-interested drive of organization party leaders has brought the defeat of proportional representation. The politicians have never liked a system which undermines their influence on the choice of candidates to the city council. The people of the city who were interested enough to examine the issue have heretofore supported a system which assured candidates of a higher caliber than district leaders, Republican or Democratic, were wont to name.

We are convinced that had the good people of the city waited to register their dislike of left wingers until the next council election, that

dislike would have eliminated most, if not all, of the councilmen they consider unrepresentative.

We believe that a substantial opposition in the council has been salutary; that the proportional representation method of election, which required that the organization candidates of both parties be chosen for qualifications, not for party service, has been salutary. The opposition will now be cut; the necessity to select candidates who can stand up under borough-wide competition will no longer be in effect.

The voters have, we fear, sacrificed an instrument for improving the quality of their city council because of a temporary wartime phenomenon which seated left wingers there. We regret that in the decision on P. R. it will be the politicians, not the forces of good government, who gain by a postwar sentiment that is not temporary—the people's will to repudiate communism.

In spite of the adverse verdict more people have been stirred to campaign activity in support of P. R. in New York City than ever before. If the substitute plan works out as badly as there is every reason to expect it will in the election of 1949, it is not unlikely that P. R. will be on the ballot again for adoption in 1950.

Long Beach Elects Improved Council but Votes Out P. R.

Long Beach, which is just a few miles outside the New York City limits, on the south shore of Long Island, voted to repeal P. R. by 2,884 to 1,783 votes, after a two-year trial. The system was adopted in 1943 by 1,578 votes to 1,368 and first came into effect in the 1945 election.

At that time the voters showed their

lack of confidence in the Democratic organization which had previously ruled the city by electing only one of its candidates. The other four elected were two independent Democrats, one Republican and one American Labor candidate. This council chose a competent city manager and there is no doubt that municipal government in Long Beach has greatly improved, but a majority of the councilmen, though all were independent in their actions, failed to measure up to proper standards of official conduct and undoubtedly contributed thereby to the repeal of P. R. which they themselves initiated.

The most important factor, however, was undoubtedly the attitude of the New York newspapers, which was echoed by all three of the papers in Long Beach. Repeated letters to all the voters in support of P. R. by the Long Beach Citizens Union were not enough to offset it.

Long Beach elected its second P. R. council on the same day that P. R. was repealed. The count was completed that night and resulted in a council that is generally considered much improved. The Citizens Union representative on the council, Ralph B. Weiss, who had made an outstanding record but declined to stand for re-election, was drafted by a successful write-in campaign, the first in the history of P. R. elections in this country. With him were elected another independent backed by the Citizens Union and other civic forces, two new nominees of the reorganized Democratic organization under changed leadership whom the Citizens Union considered qualified, and the Republican member of the outgoing council, running this time without his party's endorsement. The American Labor party candidate was nosed out by one of the Democrats by three votes.

The councilman who had introduced the P. R. repeal proposal was the first candidate defeated and he was followed immediately by one of the other two who had supported repeal. There were only seven regularly nominated candidates for the five places."

Only 43 ballots out of 5,671, less than one per cent, were not marked; 331, or 5.8 per cent of those that were marked, were invalid; and 4,252, more than 80 per cent of the 5,297 that were valid, helped elect someone for whom the voters had expressed a preference.

The count was technically of interest because in the transfer of the one surplus the most exact method of minimizing the small element of choice so far adopted for public elections in the United States was used for the first time. Each candidate was given the same proportion of the surplus that he had of the second choices on the elected candidate's ballots and the particular ballots transferred to each candidate were taken in equal numbers as nearly as possible from the eleven election districts.

After the election the defeated Labor party candidate exercised his privilege of having a re-examination of the ballots under Board of Elections supervision on payment of a small fee. All invalid and blank ballots and about half the valid ballots were carefully checked, showing a remarkable degree of accuracy. The disposition of only four ballots was seriously questioned and none of these could have reduced the small gap between the two contestants for fifth place.

Repeal Voted in Boulder

The little university city of Boulder, Colorado, abolished P. R. by a vote of 3,159 to 1,370 after using it for 30 years. Boulder was the second city in the United States to adopt P. R. and had

withstood three previous attempts to repeal it.

This time, apparently, the issue went largely by default. The Boulder *Daily Camera*, the city's only newspaper, advised editorially against repeal and there has been fairly general satisfaction with the quality of the city's government under its P. R.-manager charter, but there was no organized defense and there has been no extensive educational work in the significance of the system since it was last upheld in 1933.

Boulder elected three of its nine councilmen by P. R. every two years for a six-year term. This arrangement did not allow much scope for variety of representation, but did give some representation to minorities and secured councilmen of generally good caliber and standing in the community.

At the P. R. election this November, with sixteen candidates in the running, Boulder cast a record 5,038 vote. The three men elected for six-year terms were Alfred H. Allen, automobile service store operator; Dr. John D. Gilsapie, physician; and Charles L. Pitney, retired army major. According to the Boulder *Daily Camera*, the election was nonpartisan and the three winners did not represent any organized group or platform. Only 182 ballots, or 3.6 per cent of the total cast, were invalid or blank.

City Councils Elected by P. R.

Councilmanic elections were held by P. R. on November 4 not only in Cincinnati, Long Beach and Boulder, but also in Cambridge and Lowell, Massachusetts; Toledo and Hamilton, Ohio; and Yonkers, New York. These will be discussed in this department in forthcoming issues.

Are New York City Voters Suckers?

Under this apt title the Port Chester (New York) *Daily Item* published the editorial below on the failure of New York City voters to retain P. R. for the election of the city's council.

"Unless we miss our guess, the citizens and taxpayers of the great city of New York have fallen for another 'buy Brooklyn Bridge' con game in their decision to abandon the proportional representation method of electing members of the city council.

"Before P. R., New York was ruled exclusively by Tammany.

"After P. R., it seems probable to us, New York will go back to being ruled by Tammany or some reasonably larcenous facsimile thereof.

"It all came about, of course, because a couple of Communists had been elected to the council under the P. R. principle of minority representation. The politicians and some gullible newspaper editors took advantage of that situation to scare the b'jabers out of the New York electorate. A goodly portion of the latter probably went to the polls on Tuesday determined to prevent Mike Quill, boss of the Transportation Workers Union and one of the left-wing councilmen, from ever taking over city hall—they just didn't bother to try to figure out whether or not it ever would be possible, not to say probable, for Mike to achieve such power and eminence.

"There is substantial evidence that, wherever it has had a fair trial, P. R. has worked well for the people who pay the government's bills.

"Yonkers right here in Westchester provides such evidence and numerous other cities have benefited similarly through better and less wasteful administrations chosen despite rather than because of machine politics."

King County Board's Activities Cited

Citizens Group Praises List of Accomplishments

THE Municipal League of Seattle has complimented the present King County board of commissioners for its impressive list of accomplishments and several of its projected activities under consideration. Improvements include:

1. Consolidation of the north and south county road districts resulting in savings in overhead costs and a better program of road construction and maintenance;

2. Consolidation of north and south parks and playgrounds departments which also will result in reduction of overhead costs as well as providing a more uniform standard of county recreation;

3. Consolidation of city and county health departments which should result in higher standards in the county area;

4. Establishment of a separate fund for the county airport to permit it to apply its earnings to airport operations and payment of its indebtedness;

5. Appointment of a lay advisory committee to the welfare department;

6. Declaration of a policy of "no emergency appropriations in 1948" unless justified by a genuine emergency;

7. Establishment of stronger budgetary controls by means of improved monthly financial reports in order to forestall emergency appropriation requests;

8. Increase in the county planning commission budget to enable it to expand to planning functions rather than continue in the narrow field of rezoning; and

9. Adoption of a limited building regulation code applicable to places of assembly and commercial and industrial buildings with floor space of more than 1,500 square feet.

Proposals before the board include one to establish a motor car pool for better utilization of vehicles and another for better coordination between the county assessor's and treasurer's offices in the mechanical preparation of tax statements.

In preliminary stages is the proposal to separate King County from Seattle. Such a constitutional amendment will be submitted to the voters of the state in November 1948. If the amendment is adopted, the specific plan of separation as passed by the legislature would require approval of the voters both inside and outside the city.

The city planning commission has proposed a joint city-county planning council including representatives of the transit system, school and port districts. The combined planning staff of Toledo and Lucas County, Ohio, is cited as an example of successful joint planning.

Virginia County Defeats Manager Proposal

At the general election on November 4, voters of Chesterfield County, Virginia, defeated a proposed manager charter by a vote of 2,772 to 1,582.

Ohio Counties Authorized to Zone

Thirty years after comparable powers were given to its municipalities, Ohio has extended authority to zone to its counties and townships. Nine prior attempts to secure the enactment of such legislation had failed of passage. The law became effective September 25.

The law authorizes any county board of commissioners to create a rural zoning commission of five members to serve without pay. All zoning plans drafted by it would be subjected to public hearings, approval of the board of commissioners and final approval by the voters in the townships affected. A board of zoning appeals would hear cases of refusal to grant zoning certificates and make necessary variances from the plan to prevent injustices in application.

Townships also are authorized to prepare and adopt zoning regulations under the law. County plans subsequently prepared may then be substituted or rejected by townships operating under their own zoning regulations.

City-County Consolidation Trend Continues

The commissioners of Fulton County, Georgia, have given renewed impetus to the movement for consolidation of the county with Atlanta. They have requested the 29-member citizens committee, appointed last January by the chairman of the county board to study the possibilities of such a merger, to renew its efforts to draft a plan of one government for the Atlanta metropolitan area. The status of the committee had been somewhat in doubt as a result of the recent death of the board chairman who had made the appointments.

The retiring Fulton County Grand Jury, in its report to Fulton Superior Court Judge Frank A. Hooper, warned that Atlanta will lose its "rightful place" among the cities of the nation unless a solution can be found to permit consolidation of overlapping city and county services. "If the problem is not solved," the jury stated, "it will prevent long-distance planning by county and city governments and will

eventually retard the progress of this metropolitan district in many ways."

Functional consolidation through joint ownership and operation of a public hospital is being considered by the governing bodies of Sedgwick County, Kansas, and the city of Wichita.

1944 County Finances Reported

The U. S. Bureau of the Census has issued its *County Finances, 1944 Compendium* (165 pages) embodying three categories of county financial information for the year 1944—detailed national total amounts, summaries for the counties of each state, and detailed statistics for a thousand representative counties, large and small, urban and rural.

The report reveals that county governments experienced a decrease in tax revenue from 1943 to 1944, but that non-tax revenue increased. Expenditures for nearly all county functions increased because of rises in pay rolls, in public assistance and in other operation expenses. There were decreases, however, in debt service and capital outlay because of the various wartime restrictions. These restrictions resulted in a substantial reduction in the county debt.

Property taxes declined in importance as a source of revenue until they provided not much more than one-half of county revenue. Major expenditures in 1944, computed on a per capita basis, were for welfare and highway purposes, with "general control" ranking third in costs.

Reported for the first time were county-owned utilities and other enterprises. Gross profits of 32 liquor dispensaries of Maryland and North Carolina counties amounted to five million dollars. Some county airports, water supply systems and electric power sys-

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Taxation and Finance. *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Federal Aid Hospital Program Gets under Way

Plans for Twelve States Approved in Slow Start

THE program for federally-aided hospital construction, authorized by Congress in 1946, is slowly getting under way, although as yet no funds have been actually appropriated. Hospital programs of twelve states had been approved through the latter part of October: Alabama, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Mississippi, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, Utah and Washington. Programs have been submitted by eight others, with tentative programs from three additional, according to the American Municipal Association.

The 79th Congress authorized, in the 1946 hospital survey and construction act, a grant of \$75,000,000 annually for five years for federal aid to be allocated for hospital construction. The money is to be apportioned among the states on the basis of population and state income and the federal grant can finance no more than one-third of the cost. Local units may share in the aid, but only when their programs are part of a state program of a state agency designated by the state for that purpose and which has been approved by the United States Public Health Service. State programs must be re-surveyed once a year.

Although no money has been appropriated for construction, \$3,000,000 has been appropriated for grants to the state for surveys. The Public Health Service has received \$1,800,000 of the appropriation, of which \$668,457 was expended through mid-October. Grants

for surveys are apportioned on the basis of population.

Public Health Service is expected to ask the next session of Congress to appropriate at least \$12,000,000 for the federal share of projects to be started before June 30, 1948, and for projects estimated to begin in 1948-49, and also to request authority to contract in 1948-49 for \$150,000,000 in grants for a federal-state-local construction total of \$450,000,000.

Large Bond Issues Submitted to Voters

At the elections of November 4, for the second consecutive year, the voters approved issuance of state and local bonds aggregating more than one billion dollars. According to *The Daily Bond Buyer*, two states and 358 local units had bond proposals on their ballots aggregating \$1,126,780,361. Issues totaling \$1,000,000 or more accounted for \$1,084,651,500, and of this amount all but \$25,438,500 was approved.

Two states, New York and Ohio, accounted for the major share of the large dollar volume in state and local bond issues submitted to the voters this year. In New York, two proposals were adopted—a \$400,000,000 bond authorization for veterans' bonuses and \$135,000,000 for slum clearance and low-rent public housing, a total of \$535,000,000. The legislature had already enacted a provisional program of selective excise taxes which will function to provide funds to service the veterans' bonus bonds. The Ohio voters approved a veterans' bonus bond authorization of \$300,000,000.

Large issues were submitted in four cities. San Francisco voters were called on to consider issues totaling \$87,000,000, including \$25,000,000 for

water improvements and \$20,000,000 for street railway modernization. In Chicago, new issues of \$51,000,000 were before the voters, consisting of \$39,000,000 city bonds (\$15,000,000 each for slum clearance and housing and \$7,000,000 for voting machines, to mention the three largest issues) and \$12,000,000 Cook County bonds (\$7,000,000 hospital, \$3,500,000 infirmary, and \$1,000,000 voting machine bonds, again to mention the largest). All were approved.

In Kansas City, issues totaling \$47,700,000 were on the ballot; \$41,500,000 of the total were city bonds and \$6,000,000 county bonds. In Detroit, an issue of \$30,000,000 storm sewer bonds was submitted. All were approved except \$4,023,500 of the Jackson County bonds.

Syracuse, New York, Adopts Sales Tax

The third local sales tax in New York State will become effective next March, when a 2 per cent retail sales tax goes into effect in the city of Syracuse. The city acted under 1947 legislation granting the local subdivisions broader powers in taxation.

The 1947 act had been utilized earlier by Erie County (Buffalo) which enacted a sales tax for aid to schools. In New York City a sales tax, authorized under earlier emergency legislation, has been in use since the early 1930's.

Governmental Revenue in 1946

Under the title above, the Bureau of the Census, Governments Division, published in October a summary bulletin high-lighting 1946 revenue of the federal, state and local governments. Exclusive of intergovernmental aid, the total for the year was \$56,873,000,000, of which \$44,223,000,000 or 77.8 per cent, were federal receipts; \$6,480,000,000, or 11.4 per cent, state receipts; and

\$6,170,000,000, or 10.8 per cent, local. These figures are for governmental purposes only and exclude public service enterprise income except for net amounts applied to governmental purposes.

The 1946 total was 4 per cent lower than that of 1945, but exceeded 1942 by 134 per cent. For the four-year interval, the federal increase was 222 per cent and that for state and local receipts was 19 per cent. The 1946 grand total approximated \$406 per capita.

Municipal Services Hard Hit by High Costs

Local governments are finding themselves facing difficult problems because of inflation. Among public institutions, hospitals are hardest hit because of the increase in food prices plus the need to feed patients on diets which make no compromise with inflation, reports the Municipal Finance Officers Association.

The Dallas situation is typical. Food costs for three city-county hospitals, two city jails and a school for juvenile delinquents have more than doubled in three years—from \$83,497 in 1944 to \$184,669 in 1947.

Philadelphia General Hospital has requested \$233,000 emergency funds for food to supplement the \$470,000 granted in the 1947 budget. To cut costs, some county prisons in the city have imposed three meatless days a week since September.

In Newark emergency resolutions providing \$559,000 have been approved to help cover unanticipated price rises affecting operation of municipal services. Wage and price increases for almost all city departments were involved.

In St. Louis inflation has increased the city deficit to the point where it is being found necessary to discharge

700 municipal employees. City economy measures include reducing garbage collections from three to two times a week and turning off street lights one hour earlier each morning.

San Francisco's budget also has been unhinged by inflation. Officials report a probable shortage this year of \$300,000 to \$400,000 for institutional supply purchases. All city departments are putting emergency economies in operation and city agents are scouting federal surplus commodity sales for bargains.

Public schools are facing their worst financial crisis since the depression. The two-horned dilemma currently confronting school boards involves crippling of construction programs by inflation and cost-of-living pay raises for teachers.

Record enrollments in most schools are making construction a matter of special urgency. Further, a five-million increase in the nation's elementary school population is expected during the next decade as a result of the 40 per cent rise in the birthrate since the war ended.

Baltimore has sold \$30,000,000 school bonds but construction of needed schools has been delayed by high costs. Several Baltimore schools are operating double shifts to relieve overcrowding.

Washington, D. C., with \$7,500,000 available for construction, is in a similar spot. School officials can foresee completion of only two schools started last year, while sixteen others planned are unbuilt because of high costs.

School construction is virtually at a standstill in Cincinnati and Cleveland, according to a survey of school needs in major cities conducted by the *Washington Post*. Cincinnati has voted a \$16,000,000 bond issue to finance new schools, but at current prices the 31 buildings planned would cost nearly twice that much.

Cost-of-living pay increases for teachers are throwing many school budgets further off center. Officials in Buffalo and Cleveland doubt that schools can operate throughout the fiscal year without more money. Voters in Cleveland and other cities are being asked to approve higher school taxes in November.

The Pennsylvania legislature granted Philadelphia's board of education power to levy temporary mercantile and property taxes to tide local schools over the fiscal hump caused by inflation. The board hopes to get \$5,000,000 new revenue from the levies to finance current salary increases and other expenses.

In Minneapolis final approval of a \$1,300,000 emergency bond issue to finance needs for the school year has been granted. Part of the money will pay for salary increases.

Off-Street Parking Mostly Tax-supported

A survey of 30 representative cities recently making capital investments in off-street parking reveals that the most common means of financing such improvements is from general municipal funds. An increasing number of cities, however, are using parking meter revenues to finance off-street parking lots, according to the International City Managers' Association. Many cities are financing parking facilities by a combination of means.

Madison, Wisconsin, Miami Beach, Florida, Montclair, New Jersey, Port Huron, Michigan, and Sioux Falls, South Dakota, are among fifteen of the 30 cities surveyed which are financing parking facilities from general funds. Madison also issued revenue bonds totaling \$400,000 to acquire two downtown parking lots. Montclair raised \$126,000 to purchase and develop parking lots by issuing general obligation bonds.

Money to buy and develop municipal parking lots came from curbside parking meter revenues in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, Independence, Kansas, Anaheim, California, and Benton Harbor, Michigan, plan to use this method soon. Ithaca and White Plains, New York, and Whittier, California, have financed lots with revenues from meters installed in the lots themselves.

Special assessments were used to finance off-street parking in Kalamazoo and Port Huron, Michigan, Kansas City, Kansas, and other cities. Winnetka, Illinois, financed five parking lots from the general fund with the help of utility revenues. Albuquerque, New Mexico, used surplus funds of the water department.

Oregon Sales and Cigarette Taxes Defeated

At an election held October 7, voters in the state of Oregon defeated proposals to levy sales and cigarette taxes. The sales tax would have been used in part to make reductions in ad valorem property tax levies of cities, counties and school districts; in part for state purposes.

Florida City Adopts Utility Bill Tax

Following favorable citizen action at a straw vote, the city council of Fort Lauderdale, Florida, enacted a tax on utility services. The tax will be 10 per cent on bills under \$25 and 5 per cent

on bills over \$25, but will apply only to local services and calls, according to Mayor Reed Bryan. Water, telephone, telegraph, electric and gas services will be subject to the tax.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from Page 653)

tems contributed to county general funds, but such utilities were more likely to receive general fund assistance from county taxes.

Wisconsin Legislation for Counties Fails

With the exception of increased state aid to counties for asylums, tuberculosis sanatoria, highways and care of children in foster homes, most of the important proposals affecting counties failed to pass the 1947 Wisconsin legislature. The various defeated bills included provisions for: (1) establishment of the position of county finance officer, (2) centralized purchasing by the counties, (3) elimination of special administrative boards and commissions, (4) consolidation of welfare activities, (5) integration of traffic control under jurisdiction of the sheriff, (6) abolition of the fee system as a method of compensation of county officers, (7) regulation and limitations on the size and number of county board committees, and (8) requirement for the apportionment of seats on county boards on the basis of population.

Local Affairs Abroad . . .*Edited by James E. Gates***British Taxpayer Gets Much for His Money*****Local Service Cost Small Says Municipal Official***

THE retiring president of the National Association of Local Government Officers presented some striking figures and examples of the relatively small cost of local government services in his retiring address. He said, among other things:

"The average ratepayer, indeed, gets the whole of his local government services for about four shillings per household per week. Free education for his children, up to the university if they need it, costs him about 1s.6d. per week—as much as he spends on newspapers. In a week the whole of the health services costs him about 1s.2d.—less than a bottle of aspirins. He has free use of all the books in all the libraries of the country for the price of a single daily paper. His house refuse is disposed of for the price of half a bar of soap. He buys his public parks for the price of a single cigarette he may smoke there. And his streets are lit at the cost of two flints for his lighter."

He concluded: "Can anyone fairly describe that as a burden? On the contrary, I would say that local government gives the people of Britain the best bargain they can get anywhere today—a bargain which is not only cheap at the price, but which offers rich dividends in health and happiness beyond all price."

The speaker also showed that although the total income of Britain had increased by 38 per cent, and expendi-

tures on goods and services had risen by 55 per cent above 1938 figures, expenditures for local government had risen by only 22 per cent, the total being only £259,000,000—considerably less than half the amount spent on beer and spirits, less than half that spent on tobacco, and not much more than is spent on entertainment.

Local Authorities Oppose Banking Restriction

Widespread opposition has been aroused among many local authorities throughout Australia by the government's dictum that they must transfer their banking business from whatever bank they use now to the Commonwealth Bank, reports the *Australian Municipal Journal*.

There seem to be two fears, one that the absence of competition from private banks may lead to inefficiency, that the interests of the department and its officials may tend to outweigh the claims of the customer to cooperative and efficient service. It is pointed out, too, that the principles of the statutes incorporating local government authorities provide for opening contracts to the public so that the best possible terms may be obtained for taxpayers.

Another fear is that the treasurer of the day, under the commonwealth bank act, may be able to undermine the independence of local authorities, being able to dictate local policy in many matters. Where it was possible to go to rival banks, this possibility, it was felt, could be minimized.

It is possible for authorities to use other banking facilities, but application must be made to the treasurer of the commonwealth.

Capital Expenditures by UK Municipalities

The Ministry of Health has made an estimate of the anticipated capital expenditures by United Kingdom local authorities for the year 1946-1947 which, together with the corresponding figures for 1938-1939, present an interesting picture:

	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>Actual</i>
	<i>1946-47</i>	<i>1938-39</i>
	<i>£'000</i>	<i>£'000</i>
Housing	319,202	46,601
Electricity	47,463	20,125
Health	43,208	15,956
Education	40,099	15,596
Highways	29,252	15,257
Water	21,505	7,439
Transport	8,787	3,452
Gas	7,464	1,999
Municipal Buildings	2,679	3,553
Harbors, Piers, etc.	1,137	1,357
List "B" Services	34,227	18,727
	<hr/> £555,023	<hr/> £150,062

In June 1947 the ministry made a sampling of eleven authorities to determine whether they had in fact been able to make the expected expenditures. It found that with three-fourths of the year gone these authorities had been able to complete only 39 per cent of their program. There were wide variations between estimates and actual expenditures, as follows: 28, 33, 45, 37, 35, 17, 27, 17, 27, and 28 per cent. This was criticized as being over-optimistic planning, not conforming to the realities of the present situation.

The survey also demonstrated an enormous backlog of capital work waiting to be put into execution by local authorities. It has been estimated, on the basis of the estimates of required capital expenditures above, and by comparison with the economic survey, which allocated £1,700,000 for capital expenditures of all kinds, that this backlog would require about one-

third of the sum available for capital investment of all kinds.

Technician v. Administrator

The problem of the engineer-technician-administrator, from the standpoint of the technician, is ably analyzed in a speech prepared for the British Public Works Congress. The author says that "the insidious encroachment of the administrative officer upon the field of the technician has spread in local government until he now openly claims to be acknowledged the superior.

"The truth surely is that the long and arduous training given to and required of the technician in local government is almost the only road to the creation of the skilled administrator; that, by comparison, the training of the majority of the so-called administrative class in local government consists largely of doing the same sort of routine jobs that their predecessors did.

"There might, indeed, justifiably be drawn a distinction between clerical-administrative, where the officer has little or no responsibility for the making of decisions though perhaps considerable responsibility for their execution, and technical-administrative, where responsibility for making decisions of a high order affecting policy, as well as for their execution, is a daily commonplace.

"In fact, it may generally be said that all the departments of a local authority are primarily technical departments, and so long as that is true then it is equally true both that technicians must be at the head of them and that those technicians must be capable as administrators.

"In the training of technicians, then, a wider basis of attainment is required than technical specialization. The approach to and attack upon a new problem may demand a technical background; it certainly demands a mind

trained in the solution of problems, by analysis or synthesis, in inference or analogy, by, in short, the application of those very processes that the technician learns as part of his technical training. The more non-technical the problem, the more apt to its solution the habits of mind of the trained technician."

How Large Should New Towns Be?

The problem of new towns was discussed at some length at the recent Public Works, Road and Transport Congress at Olympia, London. The city surveyor of Manchester said, in considering the Manchester plan, that the best size for a new town, designed to provide within itself all the daily and weekly requirements of the people living there, was about 50,000 persons. Smaller towns may have to be provided in some instances but, where circumstances permit, populations of about 50,000 can be regarded as desirable while increases beyond this up to even as much as 150,000 might be accepted without misgivings. If, after the most careful and detailed consideration, a new town should be built for a population of 150,000 persons, the town may succeed but the advantages and facilities it offers must necessarily be exceptional.

To build a town of 50,000 people would take about eighteen years—too long where development is urgent.

On the procedure authorized in the new towns act, the minimum timetable of preparatory work and construction up to the completion of the first houses is:

Site investigations, consultations between minister and interested local authorities, consideration of objections, holding of public inquiry and formulation of order—twelve months;

Setting up of development corpora-

tion, collection of staff and organization of administrative machinery—nine months;

Preparation of surveys, design of main drainage and preliminary zoning proposals—twelve months;

Detailed planning of first neighborhood unit—six months;

Preparation of working drawings for roads and sewers and letting of contract for first neighborhood unit—twelve months;

Construction of roads and sewers sufficient to permit construction of house building—six months;

The completion of first houses—twelve months.

Taking into account the likelihood of appeals in early stages, the serious shortages of technical staff and the difficulties of persuading labor to work some distance from home, this timetable may cover a period of seven to eight years.

The farther the new town is from the mother conurbation the greater will be the practical difficulties of building the town and of moving population and industry and the more likely will it be that the new town will develop at the very slow rate of ordinary small towns. In short, other things being equal, the more urgent the need for the new town, the nearer should it be placed to the area from which the population is to come.

The degree to which the growth of the new town can be encouraged may well depend on the ease with which individual families and individual industrialists can be persuaded to venture into it during the period of growth while its ultimate shape, liveliness and character are still not formed. As much persuasion and encouragement may be required on the part of the authority from which congestion needs to be removed, as energy, artistry and initiative on the part of the new town development authority.

Municipal Sewing Room in Chihuahua

Last October there was inaugurated in Chihuahua, Mexico, a public municipal sewing room, to relieve the most pressing needs of the local seamstresses and housewives who could not afford to have sewing machines in their homes.

The project was financed jointly by the state government, which provided 50 per cent of the funds, and a group of local citizens headed by the mayor. The workshop is free for residents of the town and has twenty electric sewing machines.

Britain Revises Block Grant System

The British Minister of Health announced at a meeting of municipal treasurers and accountants that the block grant system is to be revised and that national machinery is to be set up for the valuation of property for local rates. As the amounts to be received by the local authorities for the carrying on of new social services would be based on local assessments, he said it "would be asking too much of human nature to permit the assessment to remain in the hands of the beneficiaries."

The necessity of this centralization of assessments is laid to the proposal to transfer to the central government responsibility for the hospital and mental health services, as well as the proposal to abolish the poor law.

Canadian Mayors Ask State and Federal Cooperation

At the annual meeting of the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities, held in Winnipeg, July 8-11 of this year, a number of resolutions adopted sought greater cooperation between the cities and the provincial and dominion governments, including those dealing with:

Grants-In-Aid. That the federal gov-

ernment be advised that the need for federal-municipal aid is as great today as it was when the federal government introduced such measures as the municipal aid and adjustment act and is likely to be even greater in the period immediately ahead; and that a federal policy of federal-municipal financial aid should be enunciated without delay and reestablished on the federal statutes.

Taxation of Crown Properties. That the federal and provincial governments pay municipal service charges and local improvement or betterment charges on all crown lands within municipal corporations.

Uniform Traffic Rules and Signs. That the federation urge the federal and provincial governments to cooperate with the United States with a view to establishing uniform traffic rules and signs throughout Canada and the United States.

Municipal Finance. That no duties be imposed upon municipal authorities by the federal or provincial government without definite provision for financing same and that any services other than those generally recognized as purely a municipal responsibility be paid for by the authority requiring such services.

Revival of Municipal Improvements Assistance Act. That the dominion government be requested to revive and place in immediate operation the provisions of the municipal improvements assistance act, 1938, with the following amendments: (a) removal of the limitation on, or a substantial increase in, the aggregate loans which may be made to any particular municipality; (b) extension of the provisions of the act to approved capital works which may not necessarily be self-liquidating, where appropriate by-laws are passed to service the repayment of the moneys borrowed, by a levy on the municipality at large.

Books in Review

The Police and Minority Groups. By Joseph D. Lohman. Chicago, Chicago Park District, 1947. xiii, 133 pp. \$2.

This volume has been prepared for use as a text book on racial problems in the curriculum of the Chicago Park District Police Training School. It is an outgrowth of a course given at the school by its author, associate director for race relations of the Julius Rosenwald Fund and lecturer in sociology at the University of Chicago. Cited are actual cases of friction among minority groups taken from the police records of the park district, thus combining scientific theory and actual experience. Mr. Lohman has prepared the volume in collaboration with the supervisory officers of the Chicago Park District Division of Police headed by Chief Roger F. Shanahan.

Tax Systems (Tenth Edition). Edited by Tax Research Department. Chicago and New York, Commerce Clearing House, Inc., 1946. viii, 320 pp. \$12.50.

Attention is focused in this volume on tax facts and data for the United States, the 48 states, District of Columbia, Canada and Mexico. In addition selected revenue statistics are set forth for the United States, Alaska, Puerto Rico and major cities. There are over 150 charts and tables. Arrangement of the information (1) by states and (2) by types of taxes makes the volume convenient for ready reference. Figures on tax collections for federal, state, territorial and local governments are broken down to show amounts collected by each unit of government, yields by specific taxes in amounts, and percentages as well as per capita collections.

Facts and figures used are the latest available, according to the volume, reflecting all tax laws and changes enacted by Congress and state legislatures up to the time of going to press, November 1946.

Financial Administration of Municipal Utilities. By Irving Tenner. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1947. 152 pp. \$3.75.

Defining municipal utilities as enterprises operated by governmental units which render service to the public for compensation, this book deals with the principles and procedures of their financial administration. It is limited to water and electric utilities as the most numerous under municipal auspices and as furnishing guidance for other municipal utilities.

Appropriate emphasis is placed on accounting and budgetary principles and methods, with a considerable body of detail, applicable especially to the smaller municipalities most in need of improvement in such directions.

General principles and policies are sketched briefly. Preference is shown for control of municipal utilities by a board appointed by the mayor with city council approval. This would make them independent entities rather than mere departments and prevent them from being either neglected or exploited by the council. Oddly enough, no mention is made of council-manager government, under which a competent city manager can administer municipal utilities in proper relationship to other municipal functions under general policies determined by the council.

In discussing financial policies the author, a certified public accountant and fiscal consultant, warns against undue diversion of utility income for the re-

lief of taxes beyond a reasonable tax equivalent. He indicates, however, that the utility should pay a reasonable rate of return on the municipality's investment—a vague and dubious phrase if other than interest on utility bonds is meant.

The need of complete income statements on an accrual basis, and of adequate controls over cash, securities, receivables, supplies, payrolls and property, is emphasized and pointed up with detailed suggestions. Depreciation accounting, a work-order system and effective financial and statistical reports are other desirable features that are discussed briefly.

H. M. O.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Airports

Let's Face the Airplane Problem—A Symposium. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land*, September 1947. 6 pages.

Standards for Airport Runway Dimensions and Strength. Statement by Ralph H. Burke to Civil Aeronautics Administration, Hearings, September 18, 1947. Washington, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors, 1947. 3 pp.

Assessments

Proceedings of the Short Course for Municipal Assessing Officers, Held at the University of Michigan, January 29-31, 1947. Sponsored by Institute of Public Administration and Extension Service of the University of Michigan, Michigan Municipal League, Michigan State Tax Commission, Municipal Assessors Association of Michigan. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, 1947. 93 pp.

Authorities

Port Authorities. By Austin J. Tobin, etc. Chicago, Council of State

Governments, *State Government*, September 1947. 24 pp. 50 cents.

Census Bureau Publications

Census Publications 1946—Catalog and Subject Guide. Census Bureau Publications January-March 1947—Catalog and Subject Guide. Washington, D. C., United States Printing Office, 1947. 301 and 109 pp. respectively.

Census Bureau Publications on Government as Scheduled for the Fiscal Year 1948. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1947. 2 pp.

County Government

County Boards and Commissions. By Edward W. Weidner in consultation with Wylie Kilpatrick and Richard C. Spencer. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1947. 91 pp. 50 cents. (Apply Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.)

Criminal Law

Criminal Law for the Minor Judiciary. Prepared by the Public Service Institute, Department of Public Instruction, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. State College, Pennsylvania State College, Institute of Local Government, 1947. xii, 252 pp. \$4.

Federal Government

Federal Administrative Procedure Act and the Administrative Agencies. Proceedings of an Institute Conducted by the New York University School of Law on February 1-8, 1947. Edited by George Warren with an Introduction by Dean, Arthur T. Vanderbilt. New York, New York University School of Law, 1947. viii, 630 pp.

The President and His Staff Services. By Fritz Morstein Marx. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1947. 26 pp. \$1.

Foreign Governments

Features of Present-Day Canada. Edited by Robert Hamilton Coats. Philadelphia, the American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The*

Annals, September 1947. viii, 266 pp. \$2.

Finance (Cumulative Review). Report of the Military Governor for Germany (U. S.) 1 July 1946—30 June 1947. Berlin, Office of Military Government, 1947. 77 pp.

Freight Rates

Interterritorial Freight Rates. By Brainerd Currie, Milton S. Heath, etc. Durham, North Carolina, Duke University, School of Law, *Law and Contemporary Problems*, Summer 1947. 254 pp. \$1.

Legislation

Index and Digest of Acts and Joint Resolutions Enacted, Twenty-Fourth Legislature, Territory of Hawaii, 1947. Including Cross Reference Tables and Tables of Sections of Laws Amended, Repealed, Added and Supplemented. Honolulu 10, T. H., University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1947. 71 pp.

Report on the 1947 Regular (and First Extraordinary) Session of the California Legislature. Los Angeles, Chamber of Commerce, State and Local Government Department, 1947. 49 pp. Tables.

Ordinances

Charter Ordinances of the City of Milwaukee. Containing All the Charter Ordinances Passed by the Common Council under Its Home Rule Powers, through November 25, 1946. Milwaukee, Public Library, Municipal Reference Library, 1946. 87 pp.

Planning

A Capital Expenditure Program and Administrative Policy and Practice. Sixth and Seventh of a Series of Reports. East Orange, New Jersey, City Planning Board, 1947. 151 pp.

The Case for Regional Planning with Special Reference to New England. By the Yale University Directive Committee on Regional Planning. New

Haven, Yale University Press, 1947. 94 pp. Charts, maps. \$10.

The FWA Planning Aid Program in Tennessee 1945-1947. A final report on applications by Tennessee governmental units for FWA advance planning funds, Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1947. 20 pp.

Purchasing

National Survey of Public [Purchasing] Practices and Procedures. Report Submitted at Second Annual Conference, National Institute of Governmental Purchasing. By David Joseph. Washington, D. C., The Institute, 1947. 11 pp.

Public Health

Public Health Law (third edition). By James A. Tobey. New York, The Commonwealth Fund, 1947. xxi, 419 pp. \$4.50.

Resources

America's Needs and Resources. A Survey Which Includes Estimates for 1950 and 1960. By J. Frederic Dewhurst and Associates. New York, The Twentieth Century Fund, 1947. xxviii, 812 pp. \$5.

Taxation and Finance

Agenda for Progressive Taxation. By William Vickrey. New York, The Ronald Press Company, 1947. xi, 496 pp. \$4.75.

The Alabama Revenue System. Report of the Revenue Survey Committee—An Interim Committee of the 1945 Legislature. Montgomery, Alabama, the Committee, 1947. 120 pp.

Taxing the Fluid Population. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy*, August 1947. 7 pp. 25 cents.

Tax Reduction or Tax Relief—Which? By Gilbert M. Tucker. New York 21, The Schalkenbach Foundation, 1947. 8 pp.

Why Kill the Goose? By Sherman Rogers. Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, Foundation for Economic Education, 1947. 78 pp. 75 cents.

The American County - - Patchwork of Boards

Do counties have a future as units of government? This nationwide review of county organization and functions by Edward W. Weidner of the University of Minnesota, a series of articles from the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, throws new light on an increasingly vital part of our governmental system. The need for a new approach to county government by federal and state as well as local authorities is indicated.

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